2500 Years of Buddhism

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

May 24, 1956

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, PUBLICATIONS DIVISION DELHI-8, AND PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS AND THE PHOTO-LITHO PRESS, NEW DELHI

FOREWORD

Sixth century B.C. was remarkable for the spiritual unrest and intellectual ferment in many countries. In China we had Lao Tzu and Confucius, in Greece Parmenides and Empedocles, in Iran Zarathustra, in India Mahāvīra and the Buddha. In that period many remarkable teachers worked upon their inheritance and developed new points of view.

The Pūrṇimā or full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha is connected with three important events in the life of the Buddha—birth, enlightenment and parinirvāṇa. It is the most sacred day in the Buddhist calendar. According to the Theravāda Buddhism, the Buddha's parinirvāṇa occurred in 544 B.C.[1] Though the different schools of Buddhism have their independent systems of chronology, they have agreed to consider the full-moon day of May 1956 to be the 2,500th anniversary of the mahāparinirvāṇa of Gautama the Buddha. This book gives a short account of the story of Buddhism in the last 2,500 years.

The main events of the Buddha's life are well known. He was the son of a minor ruler of Kapilavastu, grew up in luxury, married Yaśodharā, had a son, Rāhula, and led a sheltered life where the world's miseries were hidden. On four occasions when he went out of his palace, so the legend tells us, he met an old man and felt that he was subject to the frailties of age, met a sick man and felt that he was liable to sickness, met a corpse and felt that he was also subject to death, and met an ascetic with a peaceful countenance who had adopted the traditional way of the seekers of religious truth. The Buddha resolved to gain

1. The Bodh Gaya inscription gives 544 B.C. as the date of parinirvāṇa.

freedom from old age, sickness and death by following his example. The mendicant tells the Buddha:

> *nara-puṅgava janma-mṛtyu bhītaḥ śramaṇaḥ pravrajitosmi mokṣa-hetoḥ*[1]
>
> I am a śramaṇa, an ascetic, who in fear of birth and death have left home life to gain liberation.

The sight of the holy man, healthy in body, cheerful in mind, without any of the comforts of life, impressed the Buddha strongly with the conviction that the pursuit of religion was the only goal worthy of man. It makes man independent of the temporary trials and fleeting pleasures of the world. The Buddha decided to renounce the world and devote himself to a religious life. He left his home, wife and child, put on the garb and habits of a mendicant, and fled into the forest in order to meditate on human suffering, its causes and the means by which it could be overcome. He spent six years in the study of the most abstruse doctrines of religion, suffered the severest austerities, reduced himself to the verge of starvation in the hope that, by mortifying the flesh, he should surely attain to the knowledge of truth. But he came very near death without having attained the wisdom that he sought. He gave up ascetic practices, resumed normal life, refreshed himself in the waters of the river Nairañjanā, accepted the milk pudding offered by Sujātā: *nāyam ātmā balahīnena labhyaḥ.* After he gained bodily health and mental vigour he spent seven weeks under the shade of the Bodhi tree, sitting in a state of the deepest and most profound meditation. One night towards the dawn his understanding opened and he attained enlightenment. After the enlightenment the Buddha refers to himself in the third person as the Tathāgata: he who has arrived at the truth. He wished to preach the knowledge he gained and so said: "I shall go to Banaras where I will light the lamp that will

1. Aśvaghoṣa: Buddhacarita, V, 17.

bring light into the world. I will go to Banaras and beat the drums that will awaken mankind. I shall go to Banaras and there I shall teach the Law." "Give ear, O mendicants! The Deathless (amṛta, eternal life) has been found by me. I will now instruct. I will preach the Dharma." He travelled from place to place, touched the lives of hundreds, high and low, princes and peasants. They all came under the spell of his great personality. He taught for forty-five years the beauty of charity and the joy of renunciation, the need for simplicity and equality.

At the age of eighty he was on his way to Kuśinagara, the town in which he passed into parinirvāṇa. Taking leave of the pleasant city of Vaiśālī with his favourite disciple, Ānanda, he rested on one of the neighbouring hills and looking at the pleasant scenery with its many shrines and sanctuaries, he said to Ānanda, *citram jambudvīpam, manoramam jīvitam manuṣyāṇām.* "Colourful and rich is India, lovable and charming is the life of men." On the banks of the river Hiraṇyavatī in a grove of sāla trees, the Buddha had a bed prepared for himself between two trees. He gently consoled his disciple, Ānanda, who was lamenting bitterly. "Do not weep, do not despair, Ānanda. From all that he loves man must part. How could it be that what is born, what is subject to instability, should not pass. May be, you were thinking, 'we have no longer a master'. That must not be, O Ānanda. The doctrine I have preached to you is your master." He repeated:

handa dāni bhikkhave āmantayāmi vo:
vayadhammā sankhārā, appamādena sampādetha 'ti

Verily, I say unto you now, O monks: All things are perishable; work out your deliverance with earnestness.

These were his last words. His spirit sank into the depths of mystic absorption and when he had attained to

that degree where all thought, all conception disappears, when the consciousness of individuality ceases, he entered into the supreme nirvāṇa.

II

In the life of the Buddha, there are two sides, individual and social. The familiar Buddha-image is of a meditating sage, yogin, absorbed and withdrawn, lost in the joy of his inner meditation. This is the tradition associated with the Theravāda Buddhism and Aśoka's missions. For these the Buddha is a man, not God, a teacher and not a saviour. There is the other side of the Buddha's life, when he is concerned with the sorrows of men, eager to enter their lives, heal their troubles and spread his message for the good of the many: *bahu-jana-hitāya.* Based on this compassion for humanity, a second tradition matured in North India under the Kuṣāṇas (70—480 A.D.) and the Guptas (320—650 A.D.). It developed the ideal of salvation for all, the discipline of devotion and the way of universal service. While the former tradition prevails in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand, the latter is found in Nepal, Tibet, Korea, China, and Japan.

All forms of Buddhism, however, agree that the Buddha was the founder, that he strove and attained transcendental wisdom as he sat under the Bodhi tree, that he pointed a way from the world of suffering to a beyond, the undying, and those who follow the path for liberation may also cross to the wisdom beyond. This is the root of the matter, the essential unity underlying the many differences in outlook and expression that came to characterize Buddhism as it spread from India to other parts of the world.

The essence of all religion is a change in man's nature. The conception of second birth, *dvitīyam janma,* is the central teaching of the Hindu and the Buddhist religions. Man is not one but a multiplicity. He is asleep, he is an automaton. He is inwardly discordant. He must wake up, become united, harmonious within himself and free. The Greek mysteries

implied this change in our nature. Man himself is conceived as a grain which could die as a grain but be reborn as a plant different from the grain. A bushel of wheat has two possible destinies, to be pounded and made into flour and become bread; or to be sown in the ground, to germinate and become a plant, and give a hundred grains for one that is sown. St. Paul borrowed this idea in describing the Resurrection when he says: "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die." "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." The change is a transformation of the substance itself. Man is not a complete final being. He is a being who can transform himself, who can be born again. To effect this change, to be reborn, to be awakened, is the goal of all religions as of Buddhism.

Our subjection to time, to saṃsāra, is due to *avidyā*, unawareness, leading to infatuation, depravity, *āsava*. Ignorance and craving are the substratum of the empirical life. From avidyā we must rise to vidyā, bodhi, enlightenment. When we have *vipassanā*, knowledge by seeing, clear perception, we will acquire *samatā*, unshakable calm. In all this, the Buddha adopts the Vedic criterion of certainty which is rooted in actual knowledge which is attained by immediate experience, direct intellectual intuition of reality: *yathā-bhūta-ñāna-dassana.*

III

The Buddha did not feel that he was announcing a new religion. He was born, grew up, and died a Hindu. He was restating with a new emphasis the ancient ideals of the Indo-Aryan civilization. "Even so have I, monks, seen an ancient way, an ancient road followed by the wholly awakened ones of olden times . . . Along that have I gone, and the matters that I have come to know fully as I was going along it, I have told to the monks, nuns, men and women lay-followers, even, monks, this Brahma-faring, brahmacariya that is prosperous and flourishing, widespread and widely known, become

popular—in short, well made manifest for gods and men."

The quest of religious India has been for the incomparable safety, fearlessness, abhaya, mokṣa, nirvāṇa. It is natural for man to strive to elevate himself above earthly things, to go out from the world of sense to free his soul from the trammels of existence and gross materiality, to break through the outer darkness into the world of light and spirit. The Buddha aims at a new spiritual existence attained through jñāna or bodhi, absolute illumination. "But I deem the highest goal of a man to be the stage in which there is neither old age, nor fear, nor disease, nor birth, nor death, nor anxieties, and in which there is no continuous renewal of activity."

pade tu yasminn na jarā na bhīr na ruṅ na janma
naivoparamo na cādhayaḥ
tam eva manye puruṣārtham uttamam na vidyate
yatra punaḥ punaḥ kriyā[2]

The Buddha aimed at a spiritual experience in which all selfish craving is extinct and with it every fear and passion. It is a state of perfect inward peace, accompanied by the conviction of having attained spiritual freedom, a state which words cannot describe. Only he who has experienced it knows what it is. The state is not life in paradise where the gods dwell. "You should feel shame and indignation, if ascetics of other schools ask you if it is in order to arise in a divine world that ascetic life is practised under the ascetic Gautama." Even as the Upaniṣads distinguish mokṣa from life in brahmaloka, the Buddha points out that the gods belong to the world of manifestation and cannot therefore be called absolutely unconditioned. Existence has as its correlative non-existence. The really unconditioned is beyond both existence and non-existence. The state of the mukta, the Buddha, is higher than that of the Brahmā. It is

1. Saṃyutta-nikāya.
2. Aśvaghoṣa: Buddhacarita, XI, 59.

invisible, resplendent and eternal. There is a higher than the gods, a transcendental. Absolute described in the Udāna as *ajāta,* unborn, *abhūta,* unbecome, *akata,* unmade, *asankhata,* uncompounded. This is the Brahman of the Upaniṣads which is characterized as na iti, na iti.[1] The Buddha calls himself brahma-bhūta, he who has become Brahman. The Buddha adopted an absolutist view of Ultimate Reality though not a theistic one. He felt that many abstained from action in the faith that God would do everything for them. They seemed to forget that spiritual realization is a growth from within. When the educated indulged in vain speculations about the Inexpressible, the uneducated treated God as a being who could be manipulated by magic rites or sorcery. If God forgives us any way it makes little difference how we live. The Buddha revolted against the ignorance and superstition, the dread and the horror, which accompanied popular religion. Besides. theistic views generally fill men's minds with dogmatism and their hearts with intolerance. Doctrinal orthodoxy has filled the world with unhappiness, injustice, strife, crime, and hatred.

The conception of the world as saṃsāra, a stream without end, where the law of karma functions, is common to all Indian systems, Hindu, Jain, Buddhist and Sikh. Nothing is permanent, not even the gods. Even death is not permanent for it must turn to new life. The conduct of the individual in one life cannot determine his everlasting destiny. The Buddha does not accept a fatalistic view. He does not say that man has no control over his future. He can work out his future, become an Arhat, attain nirvāṇa. The Buddha was an ardent exponent of the strenuous life. Our aim is to conquer time, overcome saṃsāra and the way to it is the moral path which results in illumination.

The Buddha did not concede the reality of an unchange-

1. *Cf.* also "from which the words turn back together with the mind, not having attained". Tattiriya Upaniṣad, II, 4. In the Tattiriya Brahmanas it is said : "Before the gods sprang into existence, I was", II, 8,8.

able self for the self is something that can be built up by good thoughts and deeds, but yet he has to assume it. While karma relates to the world of objects, of existence, in time, nirvāṇa assumes the freedom of the subject, of inwardness. We can stand out of our existential limits. We experience the nothingness, the void of the world to get beyond it. To stand out of objective existence there must come upon the individual a sense of crucifixion, a sense of agonizing annihilation, a sense of the bitter nothingness of all the empirical existence which is subject to the law of change, of death: *maraṇāntam hi jīvitam.* We cry from the depths of unyielding despair: *mṛtyor mā amṛtam gamaya.* Who shall save me from the body of this death? If death is not all, if nothingness is not all, there is something which survives death, though it cannot be described. The 'I' is the unconditioned, something which has nothing to do with the body, feeling, perception, formations, thought, which are all impermanent, changeable, non-substantial. When the individual knows that what is impermanent is painful, he becomes detached from them and becomes free. The indispensable prerequisite of this is a higher consciousness of an 'I' or something like it: *attena vā attanīyena.*[1] This 'I' is the primordial essential self, the unconditioned, whose realization gives us liberty and power. The self is not body, feeling, consciousness, etc. But from this it does not follow that there is no self at all. The ego is not the only content of the self though it is the only content that can be known objectively. There is another side to our self which helps us to attain nirvāṇa. When the Buddha asks us to be diligent, to strive for salvation, he is referring to the inward principle which is not swept away by the current of events, which is not controlled by outward circumstances, which protects itself from the usurpations of society, which does not submit to human opinion but jealously guards its rights. The enlightened is free, having broken all bonds. The ascetic is one who has gained mastery over himself, "who has his heart in his power, and is not himself

1. Majjhima-nikāya, XXIX.

in the power of his heart".[1] The Buddha when he attained nirvana is far from being dissolved into non-being. It is not he that becomes extinct but the passions and desires. He is no longer conditioned by the erroneous notions and selfish desires that normally go on shaping individuals. The Buddha realizes himself to be free from the characteristics that constitute an individual subject. He has vanished from the sphere of dualities. "Whatever thought he desires, that thought will he think, whatever thought he does not desire, that thought will he not think."[2] The Buddha taught us to pursue prajna and practise compassion, karuṇā. We will be judged not by the creeds we profess or the labels we wear or the slogans we shout but by our sacrificial work and brotherly outlook. Man, weak as he is, subject to old age, sickness and death, in his ignorance and pride condemns the sick, the aged and the dead. If any one looks with disgust on any fellow being who is sick or old or dead, he would be unjust to himself. We must not find fault with the man who limps or stumbles along the road for we do not know the shoes he wears or the burdens he bears.[3] If we learn what pain is, we become the brothers of all who suffer.

IV

Buddhism did not start as a new and independent religion. It was an offshoot of the more ancient faith of the Hindus, perhaps a schism or a heresy. While the Buddha agreed with the faith he inherited on the fundamentals of metaphysics and ethics, he protested against certain practices which were in vogue at the time. He refused to acquiesce in the Vedic ceremonialism. When he was asked to perform some of these rites, he said, "And as for your

1. Majjhima-nikāya, XXXII.
2. Aṅguttara IV, 35; Majjhima, XX.
3. *Cf. rudrākṣam tulasī-kāṣṭham, tripuṇḍram bhasma-dhāraṇam yātrāh snānāni homāś ca japāh vā devadarśanam na ete punanti manujam yathā bhūta-hite-ratiḥ*

saying that for the sake of Dharma I should carry out the sacrificial ceremonies which are customary in my family and which bring the desired fruit, I do not approve of sacrifices; for I do not care for happiness which is sought at the price of others' suffering."[1]

It is true that the Upaniṣads also subordinate the sacrificial piety to the spiritual religion which they formulate, but they did not attack it in the way in which the Buddha did. The Buddha's main object was to bring about a reformation in religious practices and a return to the basic principles. All those who adhere to the essential framework of the Hindu religion and attempt to bring it into conformity with the voice of awakened conscience are treated as avatāras. It is an accepted view of the Hindus that the Supreme as Viṣṇu assumed different forms to accomplish different purposes for the good of mankind. The Buddha was accepted as an avatāra who reclaimed Hindus from sanguinary rites and erroneous practices and purified their religion of the numerous abuses which had crept into it. This avatāra doctrine helps us to retain the faith of the ancestors while effecting reforms in it. Our Purāṇas describe the Buddha as the ninth avatāra of Viṣṇu.

In Jayadeva's *aṣṭapadī* (of the Gītagovinda) he refers to the different avatāras and mentions the Buddha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, and gives the following account:

> O you of merciful heart denounced the Veda where the slaughter of cattle is taught. O Keśava, you, in the form of the Buddha, victory to you, Hari, lord of the world.

> *nindasi yajnavidher ahaha śrutijātam*
> *sadaya-hṛdaya, darśita paśughātam*
> *keśava-dhṛta buddhaśarīra jaya jagadīśa hare*[2]

1. Buddhacarita, XI, 64.
yadāttha cāpiṣṭaphalāṃ kulocitām kuruṣva dharmāya makhakriyām iti namo makhebhyo na hi kāmaye sukham parasya duḥkha-kriyayāyad iṣyate

2. I, 9.

The commentator writes:

> *yajnasya-vidhāna-bodhakam veda samūham nindasi, na tu sarvam ity arthaḥ*

> The Buddha does not condemn the whole Śruti but only that part of it which enjoins sacrifices.

Jayadeva sums up the ten avatāras in the next verse:

> Who upheld the Vedas, supported the universe,
> bore up the world, destroyed the demons, deceived
> Bali, broke the force of the Kṣatriyas,
> conquered Rāvaṇa, made the plough, spread mercy,
> prevailed over aliens, homage, O Kṛṣṇa
> who took the ten forms.

> *vedān uddharate, jagan nivahate, bhūgolam udbibhrate,*
> *daityān dārayate, baliṃ chalayate, kṣatrakṣayam kurvate,*
> *paulastyam jayate, halaṃ kalayate, kāruṇyam ātanvate,*
> *mlecchān mūrcchayate daśākṛtikṛte kṛṣṇāya tubhyaṃ namaḥ*
> *kāruṇyam kṛpām ātanvate buddha-rūpeṇa vistārayate*

The Buddha utilized the Hindu inheritance to correct some of its expressions. He came to fulfil, not to destroy. For us, in this country, the Buddha is an outstanding representative of our religious tradition. He left his footprints on the soil of India and his mark on the soul of the country with its habits and convictions. While the teaching of the Buddha assumed distinctive forms in the other countries of the world in conformity with their own traditions, here, in the home of the Buddha, it has entered into and become an

integral part of our culture. The Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas were treated alike by the Buddha and the two traditions gradually blended. In a sense the Buddha is a maker of modern Hinduism.

Occasionally humanity after an infinite number of gropings, creates itself, realizes the purposes of its existence in one great character and then again loses itself in the all too slow process of dissolution. The Buddha aimed at the development of a new type of free man, free from prejudices, intent on working out his own future, with one's self as one's light, *attadīpa*. His humanism crossed racial and national barriers. Yet the chaotic condition of world affairs reflects the chaos in men's souls. History has become universal in spirit. Its subject matter is neither Europe nor Asia, neither East nor West, but humanity in all lands and ages. In spite of political divisions, the world is one, whether we like it or not. The fortunes of everyone are linked up with those of others. But we are suffering from an exhaustion of spirit, an increase of egoism, individual and collective, which seem to make the ideal of a world society too difficult to desire. What we need today is a spiritual view of the universe for which this country, in spite of all its blunders and follies, has stood, which may blow through life again, bursting the doors and flinging open the shutters of man's life. We must recover the lost ideal of spiritual freedom: *ātmalābhān na paraṃ vidyate*. If we wish to achieve peace we must maintain that inner harmony, that poise of the soul, which are the essential elements of peace. We must possess ourselves though all else be lost. The free spirit sets no bounds to its love, recognizes in all human beings a spark of the divine, and offers itself up a willing victim to the cause of mankind. It casts off all fear except that of wrong doing, passes the bounds of time and death and finds inexhaustible power in life eternal.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

CONTENTS

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CHAPTER I

India and Buddhism

People from other countries are often intrigued by the phenomenon that, originating in India, Buddhism should, except for a few remnants in Bengal, Assam or Orissa, have given place to Hinduism, which is now the dominant religion of the country. This is particularly strange in view of the fact that Buddhism, as a humanist force, profoundly affected religious and moral ideas in its time, and acted as a powerful catalytic factor in transforming existing social conditions.

Buddhism is a religion of kindness, humanity and equality. While the religion of the Vedas allowed animal sacrifice to propitiate the gods, Buddhism set its face against such sacrifices; on the contrary, it waged a merciless campaign against this practice. The complicated nature of the sacrificial ritual required the services of brāhmaṇas, who had specialized in that lore. The Brāhmaṇa therefore came to hold a unique position in the social structure of the Indo-Aryans. Even the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya, who as *dvijas* (twice-born) enjoyed certain privileges in common with the brāhmaṇa, could not take as prominent a part as the brāhmaṇa in the performance of the sacrifice. The Śūdra on the other hand was assigned menial tasks such as chopping wood and cutting grass for the sacrifices, and dragging to the sacrificial ground dumb animals, like cows, bullocks and rams, with tears trickling down their faces as described in the Buddhist texts such as the Kūṭadanta-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya.

The śramaṇas who lived a life of retirement in the forests and gave themselves up to philosophical speculation did not

sympathize with sacrifices involving the slaughter of animals. Public opinion was thus being gradually formed against such sacrifices and clear indications of this change in public opinion can be found in the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Śāntiparva[1] refers to two sides of the controversy, in which the hermits pleaded for sacrificial offerings of corn or grain, while the gods favoured offerings of living animals. In chapter 254 of the same *parvan*, there is a dialogue between Tulādhāra and Jājali where animal sacrifice is condemned and the practice of eating meat at such sacrifices is attributed to interested rogues. In another place in the same *parvan* (257,6), it is claimed that ahiṃsā is the highest principle. The Bhāgavata Punāṇa (1,8,52) says that the killing of animals is not to be condoned because it forms part of a sacrifice. Indeed, the brāhmaṇas had subsequently to modify their position and substitute for live animals images made of corn-flour (piṣṭa-paśu). Clearly, Buddhism scored a victory in this matter.

In this connection, it may legitimately be asked how the Buddha preached the principle of ahiṃsā and kindness to living animals, if he himself could eat meat and allow his followers to do so. The explanation is simple. In a society where meat was commonly used in daily food, he and his followers had to depend upon public alms; so that if they had refused to eat meat, they would probably have starved to death. As a practical man, the Buddha had to avoid extremes. Here also he followed the Middle Path. He only imposed three restrictions, namely, if any monk either saw or heard or even suspected that an animal had been killed specially for him, then he was not to accept the meat.

Another special feature was that Buddhism denounced all claims to superiority on the ground of birth as the brāhmaṇas claimed. It denounced all social distinctions between man and man, and declared that it was karma, the actions of man, that determined the eminence or lowness of an individual. In Buddhist literature, there are a number

1. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute ed., 324, 10.

of sūtras where the Buddha (or his disciple) is represented as holding a discussion with renowned brāhmaṇas and ultimately bringing them round to his own way of thinking. Assalāyana-sutta[1] and Vajrasūcī, for instance, illustrate the Buddhist point of view. In this campaign also, Buddhism achieved success. The position of the Buddhists in this respect is appreciated and accepted in the Mahābhārata[2] and Bhāgavata[3]. The insistence on the equality of social status based on one's actions and not on birth is an integral part of the literature of mediaeval saints like Rāmānanda, Caitanya, Kabir, Ekanāth and others (14th—17th century A.D.). The followers of the Buddha did not all belong to the higher classes, but also included the lower classes, such as barbers, sweepers or cāṇḍālas. Among the mediaeval saints, too, Tukārām was a śūdra, Rohidās a cobbler, and Sena a barber. Similarly, some sects like the Lingāyats, the Mahānubhavas and Rāmānandīs observe no class distinction.

Another feature of great sociological significance in Buddhism was the fact that it threw open the doors of organized religious life to women and men alike. It is said that the Buddha was at first unwilling to admit women into the religious organization of the Saṅgha. However, when Ānanda approached him on behalf of Mahāpajāpatī Gautamī, he finally agreed, though not without misgivings about the ultimate result of such a step. At the same time, he laid down certain conditions which seem to imply the subservience of women to men. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that he should not be judged by the standards of the 20th century. In his day, this was a great step forward, and in religious life women enjoyed the same right of access to the highest position, that of Arhatship, for instance, as it was recognized that women could also be as learned and wise as men. In this connection, the names of distinguished nuns like Khemā, Paṭācārā and Dhammadinnā may be mentioned.

1. Majjhima, No. 93.
2. Udyoga-parva, 43, 27-29.
3. See 7,11,35 and 9,2,23.

Outside the Saṅgha, women like Sujātā, Viśākhā and Sāmāvatī all achieved positions of eminence in different spheres.[1] Even courtesans like Āmrapālī were not denied opportunities to embrace the religious life. In the Therī-gāthā also women like Uppalavaṇṇā, Subhā, Kisā, Gautamī and Somā are referred to as having renounced the world out of unhappiness with life in general. They accepted a life of devotion in order to overcome mundane suffering and it is said that they made the best use of the opportunities religion offered.

The institution of a band of disciplined, selfless workers was at the very foundation of the Buddhist organization. The Buddha's injunction to these workers was always to go from place to place, preaching his teachings throughout the year except during the rainy season. He asked them to have compassion on the people and to work for their happiness. One of his important instructions was, as he said, "Let not two of you go in one and the same direction" (*Mā ekena dve agamittha*). Herein lies the secret of success of the Buddhist missionary activity. This practice naturally inspired the Buddhist missionaries to create new spheres of activity for each group.

It is worth noting that the popularity of the Buddha and his religion largely depended upon his method of approach to the masses. The Buddha had asked his disciples to preach his doctrine in the people's own speech (*sakāya niruttiyā*). The people were naturally impressed. This appeal in a local dialect struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of the people, and they listened to the message of the Buddha, particularly as it came to them through a band of selfless preachers who had travelled long distances.

Though Gautama Buddha belonged to an aristocratic family, his life and work were those of a democrat. He served the interests of the masses and was concerned with their happiness. He travelled widely for forty-five years, preaching to them. To carry out his life's mission, he founded the Saṅgha, the Order of the Buddhist fraternity of

1. Aṅguttara, Etadagga-vagga.

monks and nuns. No wonder that the constitution and working of this organization was on democratic lines. Everyone who was ordained as a Buddhist monk could be a member of the Saṅgha in a particular locality and all official business in a formal meeting of the Saṅgha was transacted according to democratic principles. Every member had a vote and the decision of the Saṅgha was taken by a vote of the majority. When a complicated question came up before the Saṅgha, it was referred to a select committee, whose recommendation had to be placed before the Saṅgha for ratification. If a member of the Saṅgha was absent on account of illness, his vote was recorded by bringing him, sometimes carrying him, to the meeting place to cast his vote. All members of the Saṅgha in a parish were required to be present at a formal meeting of the Saṅgha. Questions about fixing the days of the Uposatha (day of fast), or the beginning of the Vassāvāsa (retreat in the rainy season) were settled by the majority, and the minority had to submit to its decision. unless, of course, it was a question of fundamental principles necessitating the convening of a synod or religious council. The leader of the Saṅgha was generally elected from among the theras or senior monks and he was respected by all. As Buddhist monks had no private or personal property of their own, all furniture or things in the monastery for the use of the monks, such as cots or water jars, belonged to the whole community or the Saṅgha. No one dared to question the authority of the Saṅgha which had come to be respected as one of the Three Jewels (ratnāni). The Saṅgha, however, was not a close body of people belonging to a particular place, but was open to monks from all the four directions (cātuddisa-saṅgha). In short, no official act of the Saṅgha was valid unless it was decided at a meeting where all members and visiting monks in a parish were either present or could communicate their wishes (chanda).

When it came to voting, marked sticks (śalākās) were used and a responsible officer was appointed to keep watch over the voting. As monastic establishments developed, the

Saṅgha began to appoint office-bearers to supervise new constructions, to look after property, the distribution of clothing, the allotment of dwelling places, the acceptance of property as a gift to the Saṅgha, and the like. All these officers were appointed after due election at a meeting of the Saṅgha, where the proposal was announced three times, and if there was no dissenting voice it was declared carried.

During his lifetime, the Buddha allowed things to be decided democratically by the Saṅgha; and after his death, too, he did not want to restrict the freedom of the Saṅgha by appointing his own successor. He wanted the Dhamma and Vinaya to be its guides after his death and anything which was not authorized by the Dhamma and Vinaya was to be rejected by the Saṅgha.

In running its affairs, the Saṅgha no doubt drew its inspiration from small oligarchies (gaṇarājya) like those of the Vajjis or Licchavis of Vaisali[1] and of the Mallas of Pāvā or Kusinārā.[2] At one time the Śākyas also enjoyed a similar form of government, but they seem to have lost it long before. The Buddha showed great admiration for the Vajjis or Licchavis when, in the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, he likened the Licchavis to the thirty-three gods (Tāvatiṃsā). He also warned Ajātaśatru's Minister, Vassakāra, saying that the Vajjis would remain invincible as long as they adhered to the seven rules governing their conduct (satta aparihāniyā dhamma), namely, (i) daily meetings for consultation; (ii) unity in action; (iii) adherence to old injunctions; (iv) respect for elders; (v) respect for women who were never to be molested; (vi) reverence for places of worship within or without their territory; and (vii) protection to worthy saints (Arhats) in their territory.

The liberal attitude shown by the Buddhists in throwing the doors wide open to all who wished to participate in religious life seems to have found general acceptance as the

1. Pron. Vaiśālī.

2. M. i, 231 (Sutta, No. 35): *Imesaṃ Sanghānaṃ gaṇānaṃ seyyathīdaṃ Vajjīnaṃ, Mallānaṃ*, etc.

Gītā indicates.[1] The worship of the images of deities became a common feature of both Buddhist and non-Buddhist religious practice. There was nothing in the practical life of a follower of the Buddha to which a non-Buddhist could take exception.

Thus, many aspects of the Buddhist religion came to be accepted by others and gradually no distinction remained. In the course of time, Buddhism was absorbed by the reformed religion of Hinduism.

This, however, is not all. The Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, perhaps under the influence of non-Aryan or aboriginal popular cults in the lower strata of society, came to assume a darker and debased form of Tantrism. This might have resulted from a misunderstanding of the symbolic language of the esoteric texts of the Tāntric school. Magic and sorcery and secret rites and rituals introduced into later Buddhism, particularly in respect of the female deities, no doubt, alienated the people. It was therefore not surprising that people were antagonized by some of the corrupt practices of the Tāntrics. This unhealthy development, too, must have contributed considerably to the decline of Buddhism. This form of Buddhism was in the ascendant and was studied at the Buddhist universities of Nalanda and Vikramaśīlā until the end of the 12th century A.D. when the invasion of Bakhtyar Khilji swept everything, Hindu and Buddhist, before it.

The beginning of the 13th century brought evil days both for Buddhism and Hinduism. For the former, however, the blow proved to be more severe. The monasteries of Bihar were despoiled and many of the monks fled to Nepal and Tibet. The lay Buddhists were left without any religious guidance, which made it easier for them to be absorbed in the non-Buddhist community as there was little distinction left between the lives led by the Buddhists and non-Buddhists. Nevertheless, a few isolated groups of Buddhists remained in Orissa, Bengal, Assam and parts of South India. An ins-

1. *Sīriyo vaiśyās tathā śūdrās te pi yanti parāṃ gatim*, Bhag. Gitā, 9,13.

cription[1] recently discovered in Korea tells us of an Indian monk called Dhyānabhadra who visited Kāñcīpura where he listened to a discourse on an Avataṃsaka-sūtra in the 14th century A.D. There followed a long interregnum in the history of Buddhism until in the latter half of the 19th century the attention of European scholars was drawn to the study of the Buddha and his religion.

The reader will find in the following pages the story of Buddhism not only in India (II—IV) but in other countries of the East—its expansion (V), its ramifications into different schools and sects (VI), its literature, particularly the literature bearing on the life of the Buddha, his teachings and his disciplinary code (VII). Chapters have also been devoted to the discussion of Buddhist ideas on education (VIII), some great men among the Buddhists, both rulers and writers (IX), the prevailing state of Buddhism as revealed by the records of the Chinese pilgrims who came to India in the period between the fifth and the seventh centuries A.D. (X), Buddhist art in India and abroad (XI), places of Buddhist interest in India (XII), and later modifications in Buddhism which paved the way for its absorption into Hinduism (XIII). The reader will undoubtedly be interested in the revival of Buddhist studies, both in the East and the West, and the eminent scholars who were responsible for it (XIV). Nor can he forget the work of the Mahabodhi Society to the same end, nor remain blind to the cultural and political implications of this revival of the spirit of the Buddha and his teachings in the cause of peace in the world. India has taken a firm stand in the cause of world peace and this, it must be conceded, is in no small measure due to the resolve of her leaders to follow the spirit of the Buddha which was reawakened in Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation.

1. See Arthur Waley, 'New Light on Buddhism in Mediaeval India' (*Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*), Vol. 1 (1931-32), pp. 354-376.

CHAPTER II

Origin of Buddhism

CULT OF SACRIFICE

The cult of sacrifice which developed out of the prayers in the Vedic Saṃhitās had a powerful hold on the minds of the early Aryans in India. The elaborate rituals of the cult, and the inevitable discussions which took place during its performance, a long affair, to keep the participants busy, are said to be responsible for doctrines which challenged the very existence of the cult. The discussions were undoubtedly valuable in settling knotty points connected with the ritual, but some of these, at any rate, seem to have done more harm than good. According to a passage in the Muṇḍaka[1] the eult of sacrifice, although looked upon as a ship to take one across to the other shores of existence, to the heavenly worlds, was itself shaky and unsafe. In another passage[2] it is said that the merit accruing from its performance is of short duration. It was thus calculated not to lead to eternal peace, but to a life of perpetual flux.

Vedic literature is replete with references to many problems unconnected with the present life, or to problems relating to the origin of the world, its constituents, the next world, and imaginary happiness as contrasted with the misery of the present life. The foundations of Indian philosophy are thus to be sought in these free discussions, particularly those on the famous Nāsadīya-sūkta, now incorporated in the tenth and concluding book of the Ṛgveda.

1. *Plavā hy ete adṛḍhā Yajñarūpāḥ* (Muṇḍaka, 1,2,7).
2. *Tad yath eha karmacito lokaḥ kṣīyate*
   evam amuṣmin puṇyacito lokaḥ kṣīyate

The discussions at the long sacrificial sessions were primarily concerned with the performance of the ritual; but obviously they could not be confined to this alone. If the performance of the sacrifice could give everlasting results, the question of thinking on different problems would not have arisen; but when these results were efficacious only for a short time, man's mind naturally turned to things eternal.

The problems discussed by the early thinkers mainly concerned the origin of the world or universe, and to its constituents. Life is short, and a sacrificial performance could bring only temporary happiness, they agreed. It could not mean eternal joy; on the contrary, it may sometimes be a source of much unhappiness. If that was so, it was necessary to discover the source of eternal peace, but could eternal peace be achieved through the life a sacrificer leads? If not, should not an alternative be sought? This was the next question. The balance was in favour of a new mode of life, the life of renunciation as opposed to the life of plenty led by a householder. Subsequently, the system of āśramas or the four stages of life was evolved, and the last two, those of vānaprastha and sannyāsa, gave opportunities for speculation on the problems of ultimate reality and absolute happiness.

Clearly, ascetic life was open not only to the Brāhmaṇa but also to the other cultivated classes of the age. At any rate, it was open to the Kṣatriyas, the warrior class, as is evident from the special place the royal sage, Janaka, occupies in the field of philosophical speculation. Kṣatriya sages were often responsible for the instruction of the Brāhmaṇas in some secret lore in which they were proficient.

Although Vedic literature records the names of some thinkers belonging to the ascetic cult, there must have been others outside this narrow group. It is not easy to ascertain whether there were non-Aryan elements within its fold; but there is no ground for disbelieving that the non-Aryans, too, influenced the Aryan mind. For instance, according to some, thinkers like Gosāla represented ideas which were peculiar

to non-Aryan culture.

Turning to non-Vedic literature, one comes across terms like śramaṇa as opposed to brāhmaṇa. Some five types of śramaṇas including the Nigaṇṭha (Jaina) and the Ājīva (Ājīvika) are mentioned. It is likely that some of them were brought up on Brahmanic lore, but later broke away from it. The literature of the Buddhists and the Jainas frequently refers to these sects. It is clear, however, that these śramaṇas inherited several ideas from, and were often inspired by, Vedic literature.

The tenets of these different wandering sects can be traced back to Vedic literature, particularly the literature of the Upaniṣads. In fact, the quest for the final or ultimate cause goes back to the famous Nāsadīya-sūkta of the Ṛgveda[1]; the idea of some higher and happier world is to be found in the Viṣṇu-sūkta[2]; the concept of the transmigration of souls, that of the mortals returning to this world, is as old as the Yama-sūkta[3] or the Hymn to the Fathers. The inherent misery of the world and the notion of immortality, which was not attainable by worldly possessions, have been frequently mentioned in the Upaniṣads. Speculations on the ultimate cause of the universe are frequently met with in Upaniṣadic literature.

The doctrine of the Chain of Causation as conceived by the Buddha was obviously the result of these speculations. Indeed, even the highly developed doctrine of the Mādhyamika school that the highest truth lies beyond the four extreme views, catuṣkoṭivinirmukta, is represented in almost identical terms in the last paragraph of the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad.[4] It stands to reason that philosophical ideas and doctrines do not spring up unexpectedly, but grow out of old ideas. Oldenberg has developed this theme in his *Philosophie der Upanisaden und Anfänge der Buddhismus.*

1. X, 129.
2. Ṛgveda, I, 54.
3. Ṛgveda, X, 14ff.
4. *Nāntaḥ-prajñaṃ na bahiḥ-prajñaṃ obhyataḥ-prajñaṃ...nāprajñaṃ*

There is, however, no definite indication in pre-Buddhistic literature of the well-known and important principle of anātmavāda or the doctrine of no-soul. There are vague references in the Upaniṣads, particularly the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, that the body consists of four or five elements, that at death it dissolves back into these elements, and that no element of consciousness (saṃjñā) remains after death. This doctrine, however, cannot rightly be said to be the source of the Buddhistic doctrine of anātma (or anattā); the most that can be claimed is that it is at the root of the notions that all worldly objects are transitory and that there is no transmigration. The admission that various elements constitute a body which ultimately dissolves into those very elements may indicate that the so-called consciousness or saṃjñā is unsubstantial as nothing of it is left after death.

There is little information on the non-Vedic ascetic sects, but some can be found in such works as the Sūyagaḍa, the Second Book of the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canon in Prakrit, and in scattered Buddhist sūtras like the Sāmaññaphala-sutta in the Dīgha-nikāya in Pali, and its Sanskrit counterpart in the Gilgit MSS. These sects naturally glorify the teachings of their own prophets, and condemn those of their opponents. None the less some reliable information can be had from these sources.

It may be useful to consider a few names of the ascetic sects and the light they throw on their external characteristics. In Brahmanical literature the names, Parivrājaka, also called Maskarin, Tāpasa and Muṇḍaka occur. Parivrājaka literally means one who goes round and has no permanent domicile. From a study of the rules of discipline, it appears that these ascetics did not generally stay long at one place, except perhaps during the rains; they were expected to wander from place to place, and to have no fixed residence. Some of them carried a bamboo staff, called *maskara*. These two features were probably common to many sects, but they must have been a special characteristic of a particular group of ascetics. The name Tāpasa, for instance, suggests a code of discipline

based on tapas, or self-mortification in various forms, such as fasting, living on water and coarse food, subsisting on a particular diet, or restricting one's movements to a particular region, preferably the northern or southern bank of sacred rivers like the Ganga. It is interesting to note that a sect and an Upaniṣadic text bear the same name, Muṇḍaka. A special feature of this sect was that its members shaved their heads. The shaving of the head instead of wearing long hair seems to have been common to both Vedic and non-Vedic sects as appears from a reference in the Suttanipāta[1]. There were some sects which bore names to correspond with the mode of their dress. Some used white garments (śvetāmbara), some coloured (geruya), while others went naked. The material of the garment also seems to have been a distinguishing feature as the term keśakambalin applied to Ajita indicates. The members of each particular sect, no doubt, followed the practice of their respective teachers.

An analysis of the doctrinal or philosophical tenets of the non-Vedic sects shows that the number of such teachers or thinkers and their schools was very large. The Jaina sūtras mention as many as 363, while according to the Buddhist sūtras the number is 62 or 63. The Jainas group their 363 schools broadly into four, namely, the Kriyāvāda[2], the Akriyāvāda, the Ajñānavāda[3] and the Vinayavāda, Mahavīra being shown as the champion of Kriyāvāda. The principal tenets of the Kriyāvāda school are that misery is the result of

1. *Muṇḍā pi idhekacce Brāhmaṇā bhavanti* (Sutta, No. 30).
2. *To evam akkhanti samicca logaṃ tahāgayā samaṇā māhaṇā ya*
Sayaṃkaḍaṃ nānnakaḍañ ca dukkham āhaṃsu vijjācaraṇaṃ pamokkhaṃ
(Sūya, 1,12,11.)
Attāṇa jo jāṇai jo ya logaṃ gaiñ ca jo jāṇai nāgaiñ ca jo sāsayaṃ
jāṇa asāsayañ ca jāiñ ca maraṇañ ca jaṇovavāyaṃ
Aho vi sattāṇa viuṭṭaṇañ ca jo āsalaṃ jāṇai saṃvarañ ca dukkhañ ca
jo jāṇai nijjarañ ca so bhāsium arahai kiriyavāyaṃ
(Sūya, 1,12, 20-21.)
3. *Annāṇiyā te kusalā vi santā asanthuyā no vitigiccha-tiṇṇā*
Akoviyā āhu akoviyehi aṇāṇuvittu musā vayanti
(Sūya, 1,12,2.)

one's own acts, and is not caused by anything else; that release from saṃsāra can be secured by knowledge of the highest truth and by good conduct. The doctrine admits the existence of soul or self, this world and the next, the eternal and non-eternal elements in the constituents of the physical world, birth, death, heavens and hells; and holds that there are causes of misery which can be controlled. According to Jaina sources, Ajita Keśakambalin is the champion of the Akriyāvāda which roughly corresponds to the Lokāyatika or the Cārvāka school. According to this school, there is no sin in killing, and there is nothing wrong in enjoying the pleasures of the world. The champion of Ajñānavāda may be Sañjaya whom the Buddhists called Vikṣepavādin, or one who did not adhere to any view categorically. No specific mention of any teacher who believed in the doctrine of Vinayavāda is found in Jaina sources, possibly because there were too many to be named. Buddhist sources condemn the doctrine of Vinaya which they seem to have called Silabbataparāmāsa, the doctrine of liberation through monastic vows and conduct. Buddhists also point to the dangers of this doctrine, namely, that it might lead either to pleasure-seeking, or to rigidity in religious exercises. They also refer to many unanswerable and unanswered problems. Even if these are discussed or settled, one is no nearer the truth; on the contrary, the danger of going astray cannot altogether be ruled out. Sañjaya seemed to have avoided answering these questions out of fear or ignorance, while the Jainas answered them boldly by their doctrine of many possibilities or Anekānta.

There are frequent references in Buddhist literature to some six senior contemporaries of the Buddha, for instance, in the Dīgha-nikāya (the Sāmaññaphala-sutta and its counterpart in Sanskrit). It appears from the context of these references that Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, met a number of these teachers and asked them each separately to state in clear and unambiguous terms the result of their ascetic practices. All of them were well known in the country as founders of religious schools with a large following. Their names

and the special doctrines they held are briefly stated in the text. It is possible, however, that the information supplied is prejudiced as it emanates from their opponents; in fact, the misstatements they make are partly due to design and partly to ignorance. All the same, it is interesting to study their views in order to understand correctly as well as to appreciate the views of the founder of Buddhism.

Of these six thinkers, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, who is no other than Mahāvīra, the founder, or, according to the Jaina tradition, the last prophet of the present world cycle, seems to have been slightly older than the Buddha. He preached ethical doctrines without apparently knowing that similar ideas had been held by an incomparably senior ascetic, Pārśva. The latter is now acknowledged to be Mahāvīra's predecessor and is believed to have lived 250 years before Mahāvīra. Pārśva's ethical code consisted of four rules, whereas that of Mahāvīra consisted of five. Of these, the first three, *viz.*, not to kill living things, not to take articles of use unless they are given, and not to tell a lie, are common to the schools of both Pārśva and Mahāvīra. The fourth rule in Pārśva's teaching, that of aparigraha, not to have any worldly possessions including a wife, was split up into two by Mahāvīra to make up his code of five. Not to take a wife or to lead a celibate life, which is the fourth rule in Mahāvīra's code, and not to have worldly possessions except clothes, which is the fifth rule in Mahāvīra's code, seem to constitute jointly the fourth rule of Pārśva. The main difference in the practical or external aspects of Pārśva's and Mahāvīra's code of conduct thus seems to have been that while Pārśva and his followers were acelakas or naked, Mahāvīra and his followers wore white garments, but refused to have any other paraphernalia. In other words, the Jaina faith as preached by Mahāvīra is the same as Pārśva's, but somewhat more modern. It was natural therefore that these two schools should have become one as they actually did some 250 years after the death of Pārśva, when the disciples of Pārśva and those of Mahāvīra met at Śrāvasti and brought

about the Union[1]. Later, the Jainas explained this fusion of schools differently by adding twenty-two prophets to precede Pārśva, thereby making Pārśva the twenty-third and Mahāvīra the twenty-fourth of their prophets. It would, however, be quite correct to hold that Pārśva and Mahāvīra independently evolved a philosophy and a religious system which had identical tenets.

In the Sāmaññaphala-sutta[2] Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta is mentioned as having held the doctrine of fourfold restraint: restraint from the use of cold water as it contains life, and from sinful activities such as killing and sexual intercourse.[3] He was free from all sins and had purified himself. In the Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta[4] the restraints ascribed to him are different, but identical with the four vows of Pārśva.

According to Jaina sources, however, Jainism is not a purely ethical system, but also a philosophy based on the doctrine of many possibilities, known as Anekānta or Syādvāda. The doctrine looks at two aspects of everything, the eternal and the non-eternal. The soul undergoes migration according to good or bad deeds. As Jainism regards the existence of jīva in everything, it enjoins such behaviour as does not cause injury to any jīva. The soul becomes impure and is engulfed by saṃsāra if it is subjected to the influence of sense objects. In order to keep the soul pure from their contamination, and to secure its release, it is necessary to practise restraint. To achieve this one must resort to or acquire right knowledge, faith and conduct. Buddhist sources, for instance, the Aṅguttara, and the seventy-fourth sutta of the Ṭikānipāta, ridicule the Jaina doctrine, particularly its idea of overcoming sin, its restraint on movements and its insistence on certain types of clothing.

1. *Cf.* Uttarādhyayana-sūtra, 23.
2. § 29.
3. Also *cf.* *Sīyodagaṃ vā taha bīyakāyaṃ āhāyakammaṃ taha itthiyāo eyāiṃ jāṇaṃ paḍisevamāṇā agāriṇo assamaṇā bhavanti* (Sūya, 2,6,8.)
4. Dīgha, No. 25, Para. 16.

The next important contemporary of the Buddha was Makkhali Gosāla. He belonged to the sect of the Acelakas or Naked Ones, and, as the first part of his name indicates, carried a staff of bamboo (maskarin). It is said that he was for some time a disciple of Mahāvīra, but later broke away from him. Afterwards, he probably founded an independent school known as the Ājīvika school. Later writers mention two predecessors, Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Saṃkicca,[1] thus giving this school three prophets. This sect is now extinct, but seems to have enjoyed popularity and even royal patronage. The doctrine advocated by Gosāla is styled saṃsāra-visuddhi or the doctrine of attaining purity only by passing through all kinds of existence. Gosāla did not believe that there was any special cause for either the misery of human beings or for their deliverance. He did not believe in human effort, and held that all creatures were helpless against destiny. He maintained that all creatures, whether wise or foolish, were destined to pass through saṃsāra, and that their misery would come to an end at the completion of the cycle. No human effort would reduce or lengthen this period. Like a ball of thread, saṃsāra had a fixed term, through which every being must pass.

The remaining four teachers, who are mentioned as contemporaries of the Buddha, did not leave their mark on posterity as did Mahāvīra and, to a lesser degree, Gosāla. Of these four, Pūraṇa Kassapa[2] held the doctrine of Akriyā or non-action. He maintained that a man did not incur sin through actions which were popularly known as bad, *e.g.*, killing, committing theft, taking another man's wife, or telling a lie. Even if a man killed all the creatures on earth and raised a heap of skulls, he incurred no sin. Similarly, he did not earn merit through a good act, or by staying on the

1. Majjhima, Nos. 36 and 76.
2. *Idha chindita-mārite hatajānisu Kassapo*
pāpaṃ na samanupassati puññaṃ vā pana attano
(Saṃyutta, 2nd, 3rd vagga, 10th sutta.)

northern or southern bank of the Ganga; similarly, self-control, gifts, and truthfulness did not earn for him any credit. The doctrine that Kassapa preached resembles the doctrine of the Cārvākas in many respects.

Ajita Keśakambalin was another contemporary of the Buddha. He did not believe in the utility of gifts, in sacrifice, the fruits of good and bad acts, the existence of heavenly worlds or persons possessing higher or supernatural powers. He held that the body consisted of four elements, into which it dissolved after death. He also held that it was useless to talk of the next world; that both the wise and the ignorant die and have no further life after death.[1] His views are similar to those of the Cārvākas, and his doctrine may be styled Ucchedavāda.

Pakudha Kaccāyana is probably Kakuda Kātyāyana as mentioned in the Praśnopaniṣad. He and his views are also referred to in the Sūyagaḍa, the Second Book of the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canon. His doctrine may be called Aśāśvatavāda. According to him, there are seven elements which are immutable, and do not in any way contribute to pleasure or pain. The body is ultimately dissolved into these seven eternal elements.[2]

The last among these teachers is Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta. Ajātaśatru calls him the most foolish and the most ignorant of all the teachers he had met. His doctrine is known as Vikṣepavāda, or a doctrine which diverts the mind from the right track. According to the Sāmaññaphala-sutta[3], he always declined to give categorical answers to problems

1. *Natthi puṇṇe ya pāve vā natthi loye iovare surīrassa viṇāseṇaṃ viṇāso hoi dehiṇo*
Patteyaṃ kasiṇe āyā je bālā je ya paṇḍiyā santi piccā na te santi natthi sattovavāiyā
(Sūya. 1,1,1,11-12.)

2. *Santi pañca mahabbhūyā ihmegesimāhiyā āyachaṭṭhā puṇo āhu āyā loge ya sāsae*
Duhao na vinassanti no ya uppajjae asaṃ savve vi savvahā bhāvā niyattībhāvamāgayā
(Sūya. 1,1,1,15-16.)

3. Para. 32.

facing the human mind. There are ten unexplained and unanswered questions, that have always exercised the mind of man and have frequently been mentioned in Buddhist literature, which Sañjaya never even attempted to answer. It may be noted that these questions were also put to the Buddha on several occasions and he, too, declined to answer them; but his attitude towards them was altogether different. He said that it was useless to waste time on these idle quests as they were not conducive to human progress.

Having taken stock of the trends of philosophical speculations before the coming of the Buddha, it will now be clear why he thought of a new faith which at once caught the imagination of the people and was accepted by millions.

Teachers like Pakudha Kaccāyana and Ajita Keśakambalin advocated a theory of the universe, according to which it was either eternal or non-eternal as represented by their respective formulae: *sabbam atthi* and *sabbam natthi*, or better still, by doctrines known as Śāśvatavāda and Ucchedavāda.

Gosāla thought that the characteristics of all things were predetermined, and that there was no cause or condition which predetermined them, as represented by the formulae: *sabbam pubbekatahetu* and *sabbam ahetu-apaccayā*.

Another view was that happiness and sorrow were due to one's own deeds or that they were due to some other cause, as represented by the formulae: *sukhadukkhaṃ sayaṃkataṃ* and *sukhadukkhaṃ-parakataṃ*.

Yet another belief was that the aims or values of human life were realized by the enjoyment of worldly pleasures, or by self-mortification, as represented by the formulae: *kāmesu-kāma-sukhallikānuyogo* and *attakilamathānuyogo*.

If the history of the philosophical thought currents at the time were surveyed, it would be clear that both Mahāvīra and the Buddha had to face thinkers who held extreme views of the four types mentioned above, and each of them had their own answer to them. Mahāvīra answered the problems in terms of his Anekāntavāda or Syādvāda, while

the Buddha's answer was based on his Paṭicca-samuppāda[1]. While Mahāvīra clung to the doctrine of Attakilamatha or self-mortification, as against Kassapa, Ajita, Gosāla and Sañjaya, the Buddha preached the Majjhima-paṭipadā or the Middle Path.

1. *Svayaṃ kṛtaṃ parakṛtaṃ dvābhyāṃ kṛtaṃ ahetukam*
tārkikair iṣyate dukkham tvayā t ūktaṃ pratītyajaṃ
(Lokātītastava, Nāgārjuna.)

CHAPTER III

Life and Teachings

It was the seventh century before the Christian era. The civilized part of India was divided into sixteen realms, eight of which were kingdoms and the remaining republics. Among the kingdoms the most powerful were Magadha and Kośala. The little Śākya republic, in modern Nepal, was ruled by the king of Kośala who received tribute from the former. The Śākyas were of the Kṣatriya solar race and called themselves rājās. In the middle of the century, their chief was Śuddhodana who had his capital at Kapilavastu.

In the year 623 B.C. his queen, Mahāmāyā, was travelling in state from Kapilavastu to Devadaha, her parents' home, to have her first child. On her way, the queen gave birth to a divine son in her tent in the Lumbinī grove between two tall sal[1] trees, then in their full spring blossom. A monument at the birth-place of the Buddha, erected by Emperor Aśoka 250 years after the event, still stands witness to its historical character.

An old sage named Asita visited king Śuddhodana's palace and expressed a desire to see the new-born child. On seeing the marks of greatness on its delicate limbs, Asita laughed and shed tears of sorrow. He laughed, he said, owing to his joy that a saviour had come to the earth for the salvation of the people and shed tears because he would not have the good fortune to live long enough to see the achievements of the child. The child was called Gautama and nicknamed Siddhārtha, or one whose purpose has been fulfilled.

1. Pron. sāl.

While the Śākyas were celebrating the birth of a prince. Queen Mahamāyā passed away seven days after the birth of her child. Gautama was then mothered by his mother's sister, Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, who was also his stepmother. The child preferred solitude and thoughtfulness to the frolics and pranks natural to his age. His father observed his spiritual inclinations and tried his best to protect the young prince from worldly suffering. When he grew into a young man he was married to Yaśodhara, a beautiful girl of the same clan. He was given three palaces to suit the three seasons. Dancing and singing girls entertained him and he was taken round in a chariot through the capital.

But human efforts are often balked by destiny. The tender-hearted prince saw a decrepit old man; then a withered person affected with an ugly disease, followed by a dead body being carried to the cremation ground by weeping friends. Lastly, on the same day he saw an upright ascetic walking majestically along the road. He loathed the first three sights but took a deep interest in the ascetic. These sights made him ponder over the miseries of existence and also on a way of escaping from them.

The marriage of Prince Gautama and Princess Yaśodharā had lately been blessed by the birth of a son. No sooner did Gautama receive the tidings of his son's birth than he exclaimed that an obstacle (rāhula) had been born to his cherished dream of an ascetic life. It was regarded as a good sign by the King who ordered that the baby be named Rāhula. He did not, however, actually prove to be an obstacle, for Gautama thought it better to relinquish his worldly career before attachments grew stronger and to adopt the course of a wanderer in quest of Truth. Thus did he reason while the dancing girls tried in vain to divert him with their art. After midnight the girls fell asleep exposing their ugliness which had been hidden by their clothes when they were awake. Annoyed at the sight, Gautama left the hall and entered his wife's chamber.

Yaśodharā was also fast asleep with the baby in her

arms. An oil lamp cast a 'dim religious light', and smoke rose from the incense burner under the bed. He tore himself away and, unknown to anybody, rode away towards a forest. He discarded his royal robes, cut his long hair with his sword and became an ascetic.

First he went to a teacher named Āḍāra Kālāma and then to another named Udraka Rāmaputra. He imbibed all that they had to teach him, but as his thirst for Truth remained unquenched he moved on and ultimately reached a picturesque land, near modern Bodh Gaya[1], which was surrounded by luxuriant woods through which ran a gentle stream with banks of silver sand.

In accordance with the belief that the mind became elevated by emaciating the body, Gautama resorted to different kinds of self-torture. However, a little experience taught him that physical torture alone did not lead to an elevation of the mind. Thereafter he began to eat and sleep, although in moderation. At the end of six years of penance, when he was thirty-six years old, he felt that in the course of the day he would become a Buddha, an awakened one, by attaining bodhi, or supreme knowledge. At noon he was offered a bowl of milk pudding by Sujātā, a rich merchant's daughter, who was devoted to him and in the evening a grass-cutter gave him bundles of dry grass on which to sleep. He regarded these as good omens and, sitting firmly under a pipal tree on a cushion made of grass, he said, "Let my skin, my nerves and bones waste away, let my life-blood dry up, I will not leave this posture until I have perfect attainment."[2]

His resolute attempt set Māra, the god of evil, thinking that he should not allow Gautama to escape from his thraldom. He caused a violent thunderstorm to frighten the Bodhisattva that Gautama then was, but in vain! All the missiles hurled by Māra at his victim turned into flowers. Māra tried to tempt him with promises of rebirths in heaven but the Bodhisattva, or the one destined to achieve enlighten-

1. Pron. Gayā.
2. Mahāniddesa, p. 476 (PTS).

ment, would not bend. Māra was discomfited in the end and his army fled in all directions. This battle, of course, was a metaphorical conflict between the higher and the lower aspirations in Gautama's mind. During the night Gautama discovered the Law of Causation, a cycle of twelve causes and effects conditioning the universe. This law had not been thought of before by any philosopher. Its authorship raised Gautama from his status of Bodhisattva to that of a Buddha. He exclaimed solemnly:

Truly when things grow plain
To the ardent, meditating brāhmaṇa,
Routing the hosts of Māra does he stand
Like as the sun when lighting up the sky.[1]

He spent four weeks in contemplation under the tree, now called the Bodhi, after which he set out on his travels. On the way the daughters of Māra encountered him and tried to seduce him with their charms. The Lord was unmoved and asked them to go away. He said that such attempts might have had success with men who had not subdued the passions but not with him.[2] Baffled in their attempts the daughters returned to their father. Further on, the newly awakened Buddha met two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, who offered him some gruel of barley and honey. These two came to be the first lay disciples of the Buddha, and this was the beginning of the formation of a band of lay disciples.

The Lord then began to have misgivings in his mind. Said he to himself:

This that through many toils I have won,
Enough, why should I make it known?
By folk with lust and hate consumed,
This truth will not be understood.[3]

1. Vinaya, Mahāvagga, I, 1,7 (Translation by Horner).
2. Nidānakathā, Kosambi's edition, para. 131.
3. Vinaya, Mahāvagga, I, 5,3.

But better counsel prevailed, and he felt that at least a few clear-sighted men would surely understand the new gospel, and renounce their misguided beliefs. His momentary dejection gave way to a keen desire to impart his knowledge to the world. With this new determination he thought of visiting his old teachers but both of them had died a little while ago. Then he thought of going to Banaras[1], which was a centre of learning even in those days, to teach his philosophy to the group of five monks who had once become his disciples and then left him in despair. He approached the deer park of Ṛṣipatana (Sarnath[2], near Banaras) where the five monks lived, and addressed them on the Middle Path for the first time, thereby setting in motion his *dharmacakra*. An ascetic should avoid the two extremes, addiction to pleasures of the senses, as well as to self-torment, and follow the middle course. After a long discourse the five monks were converted to Gautama's view. Thus were laid the foundations of the Buddha's Saṅgha (Church).

Kāśyapa of Uruvelā, a fireworshipping brāhmaṇa with matted hair, was performing a great sacrifice when the Buddha performed a miracle. The brāhmaṇas could not kindle a fire without the Buddha's permission. When the fire was kindled, there was a great flood. The Buddha, however, saved the sacrificers and Kāśyapa along with his followers joined the Saṅgha. Accompanied by them all, the Buddha went to the hill of Gayāśīrṣa and delivered his famous sermon on Burning. From Gayāśīrṣa he went on to Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, to redeem the promise he had made to Bimbisāra, the king, who had presented his bamboo-grove to the Saṅgha for use as a monastery.

Then came the conversion of the foremost pair of the Buddha's brotherhood of monks. In the capital of Magadha lived Sañjaya, an ascetic, with a large number of pupils including Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The former heard from the lips of Aśvajit, a Buddhist monk, the following verse:

1. Pron. Banāras.
2. Pron. Sārnāth.

Of those things which spring from cause
The cause has been told by the Buddha;
And their suppression likewise
The great recluse has revealed.[1]

As he learnt the full meaning of this verse from Aśvajit, Śāriputra became a disciple of the Buddha, and Maudgalyāyana followed his example. The Saṅgha was enriched by the addition of these intelligent brāhmaṇas, who became the chief disciples of the Master. Their earthly remains are still preserved and worshipped in sacred places.[2]

A year after the Awakening, Śuddhodana heard of his son's glory and invited him to visit Kapilavastu. The Buddha accordingly came to his parental home. Śuddhodana did homage to his son as he was now a holy man. On the following day, the Buddha made a round of the city for alms. To his wife, Yaśodharā, he looked more glorious in the monk's garb than he had done in his princely apparel. She threw herself at his feet and said to her son, "Dear Rāhula, ask your father for your inheritance." The Buddha conferred on the boy a higher inheritance than worldly pelf by making him a novice, a probationer for monkhood. Hundreds of Śākya rājās doffed their finery and put on yellow robes. Even Upāli, the family barber and keeper of the royal wardrobe, renounced his home and became a follower of the Buddha.

Important additions continued to be made to the congregation of lay disciples. Anāthapiṇḍika[3], a rich merchant of Śrāvasti, bought from Prince Jeta a large park for as many gold pieces as would cover the whole ground. There he erected a monastery, Jetavana Vihāra, and made a gift of it to the Saṅgha. Prasenajit, the king of Kośala, Viśākhā, a rich lady, and many eminent people of Kośala became lay

1. Vinaya, Mahāvagga, I, 10,23.

2. In November 1952, these relics were reinterred in a specially erected stūpa at Sanchi from where they had been taken and deposited in a London museum.

3. Also called Anāthapiṇḍada.

disciples of the Buddha. He then went to Rājagṛha where he fell ill and was treated by the royal physician, Jīvaka Kumārabhṛtya, a children's specialist. The patient paid for his bodily cure by effecting the mental cure of the physician who also joined the lay Buddhists.

Three years afterwards a quarrel arose between the Śākyas and Koliyas about the water of the river separating their territories. Had it not been for Lord Buddha's intervention, the quarrel would have grown into a fierce battle. This event was followed by the death of Śuddhodana and Gautamī, the widowed stepmother of the Buddha, asked her son for admission to the Saṅgha. Ānanda, the personal attendant of the Master, strongly supported her cause. This was the beginning of an Order of nuns in India. Until then women in the country had no right to spiritual salvation through the renunciation of the home.

Years rolled by. The Master and his disciples travelled all over the country combating old superstitions, the old values based on birth, and animal sacrifice, denouncing the spirit of revenge and praising morality, the threefold path of purity and rational thought. The Saṅgha continued to increase in strength. The Master's arguments were persuasive but sometimes he performed miracles to support his claims much to the chagrin of the brāhmaṇas and other sectarians. They tried to traduce the Buddha with the help of a courtesan named Ciñcā. The poor woman suffered heavy punishment for her guilt of incriminating the Buddha. A similar fate awaited Sundarī, who claimed that the Buddha was in love with her.

When the Buddha was 72 years of age, King Bimbisāra of Magadha was murdered by his son Ajātaśatru. The new king was an admirer of Devadatta, a monk of the Saṅgha. These two had designs on the life of the Master and set murderers upon him. Instead of doing him any harm they fell prostrate at his feet. Devadatta hurled a piece of rock at the Master from a height but only a splinter hit him. A last effort was made by letting loose a mad elephant on the

Buddha, but the animal humbly bowed down before the Master. Frustrated in his murderous attempts, Devadatta brought about a schism in the brotherhood and organized a rival Saṅgha. Before he could commit more mischief he died of bleeding from the mouth.

Two years before the passing of the Master, his clan met with a great misfortune. Viḍūḍabha, a son of King Prasenajit of Kośala and of the daughter of one of the Śākya rājās, was on a visit to his mother's family, where he was insulted for his low birth. Enraged, he vowed to take revenge on the Śākyas. Undeterred by the expostulations of the Master, he, after the death of his father, marched against Kapilavastu and put to the sword the whole Śākya clan. Great must have been the distress of the old Master to receive the news of this massacre, in spite of his sermons on Peace. Still he kept moving from place to place, delivering his sermons on morality, peace, universal love and purity. Āmrapālī, the famous courtesan, presented her mango-grove to the Saṅgha, the last great gift during the Master's lifetime. When the Buddha approached his eightieth year, he felt that his end was at hand.

He explained to Ānanda many matters concerning the Law (Dharma) and Discipline and told his pupils that he had unfolded to them all that a good and benevolent teacher ought and that henceforth his word should be their teacher. The massacre of the Śākyas was followed by the death of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana within one week. The Master was at Pāvā. Cunda, a blacksmith of the town, invited him to a meal of rice, cakes and *sūkaramaddava*. There is no agreement among the scholars about the meaning of the last word. It may be either a boar's tender flesh or some kind of edible herb. Whatever it might have been, it was difficult to digest and the Buddha was taken ill with dysentery. His illness, however, did not prevent him from going on to Kuśinagara. Here he asked Ānanda to spread a cloth on the ground between two sal trees. He was born between two sal trees and was to die in a similar place. He lay down like

a lion and gave his last admonitions to thousands of monks and lay folk who had assembled to have a last glimpse of him. The following were his last words: "Now, monks, I have nothing more to tell you but that all that is composed is liable to decay! Strive after salvation energetically."

His remains were cremated with royal honours. A battle for the possession of his mortal remains for daily worship was stopped by Droṇa, a brāhmaṇa. Eight stūpas were erected in different parts of India to house his relics. The death of the Buddha took place on the full moon of Vaiśākha (May) as did his birth and awakening. The day is therefore called the thrice-sacred day.

The teaching of Lord Buddha may be divided into two groups: (i) philosophical, and (ii) moral. The two groups are interwoven in such a way that the one cannot be understood properly without a knowledge of the other. The fundamental principle of the Buddha's philosophy is the theory of Causation or Dependent Origination. According to this theory, the continuous existence of a being is like a wheel of causes and effects. Ignorance gives rise to actions, then in their turn come consciousness, phenomena (nāma-rūpa), the six senses, contact, feeling, craving, grasping, becoming, birth and sufferings. If the last effect is to be destroyed, the primary cause, which is ignorance, must be destroyed.

Another important theory of the Buddha concerns the Four Noble Truths, the first being that all existence is full of suffering. The second truth is that all suffering has a cause. The third truth is that suffering can be made to come to an end and the last that there is a way to end suffering.

The critics of Buddhism will no doubt consider the first two truths pessimistic but the other two certainly provide grounds for optimism. Why does the Buddha say that the existence of a being is full of suffering? Because all beings are subject to rebirth, decay, disease, death, and, again, rebirth. Even pleasures and worldly happiness lead one to sorrow because they are transitory and the loss of pleasure and happiness is worse than never to have had them.

Just as a good doctor tries to discover the cause of the malady before administering a remedy, the Buddha, the great spiritual doctor, tried to find the ultimate cause of worldly suffering, not only the suffering of human beings but that of all animate creatures. He found the cause to be ignorance or craving arising from it. The doctor removes the cause of the patient's disease and thus cures it. The Buddha similarly asks the people to remove their ignorance of truth and their craving for happiness. The cessation of suffering is called nirvāṇa, the *summum bonum*, beyond logical reasoning and beyond description. It is not a negative condition but a positive, unconditioned state realized by the mind.

How can this nirvāṇa be attained? By the Fourth Noble Truth, the Noble Eightfold Path. It is also called the Middle Path by which the wayfarer avoids the two extremes. He neither follows the path of self-mortification nor that of self-indulgence. During the Buddha's time ascetics often observed fasts, led abhorrent lives, exposed themselves to fires burning around them or slept upon spikes thinking that the mind was exalted by torturing the body. Like the Epicureans of Europe, the self-indulgent seekers thought nothing of this world and the next, of rebirth, karma and its fruit, and led lives of luxury and sin. The Buddha's Path followed neither, but led to vision, knowledge, tranquility and nirvāṇa. Formulated by the Buddha, it is an evidence of his logical reasoning and practical wisdom. Each step in the process is an inevitable advance on the path leading to the ideal.

The first step is the *right view*. Rid yourself of all superstitions, animism and primitive rites, give up your faith in the cruel animal or human sacrifice, in the inequality of human beings, and in the existence of a prime creator of the universe and depend on your own powers of pure reasoning. This step gave Buddhism its rational basis. If one's view is wrong, one's determination is bound to be faulty. *Right mental resolve* is the foundation of all great achievements provided it is based on the right view. If one believes in racial, social or communal discrimination, one's determina-

tion is sure to prove baneful to the world. *Right speech* results from right determination and action is preceded by speech. Words free from lies, anger, abuse, calumny and slander are the right speech which is followed by *right action*. Abstinence from killing, stealing, indulgence in passions and from drinking intoxicants is the negative aspect of right action, while charity, truth, service, and kindness constitute the positive one.

Right livelihood is the outcome of right action. Wrong means of livelihood are those which cause suffering to others. Trafficking in deadly weapons, in animals for slaughter, in human beings for slavery and intoxicating drinks and poisons are examples. A monk is not allowed to do any bodily service for a layman in exchange for food or clothing. He must earn his alms only by his goodwill towards others. *Right effort* consists in strenuous endeavour by a person for his own mental and moral elevation. He should first give up his bad habits, acquire new good ones, keep himself free from evil tendencies and promote the good qualities that he may have acquired already. The Buddha lays great stress on his step which he counted among the ten perfections (pāramitās) that a Bodhisattva must achieve before his enlightenment. *Right mindfulness* is the attention paid to the activities and weaknesses of one's body and mind. The last step in the middle path is *right concentration*, the fixing of the mental faculties on a single object. This ability is useful not only to the spiritually inclined but is essential in all pursuits, whether they are scientific, literary, artistic or religious.

The Middle Path is aptly set forth in the following verse:

Of all sin the avoidance,
Of merit the acquisition,
Of mind the purification,
This is the Buddha's admonition.

1. Dhammapada 183.

Speaking of this Noble Eightfold Path, Dr. Rhys Davids says: "If this Buddhist ideal of perfect life is remarkable when compared with the thought of India at that time, it is equally instructive when looked at from the comparative point of view."[1]

The Buddha accepted the ancient Indian theory of karma. It lays down that the deeds of a being determine the state of life into which he will be reborn. "We find inequality prevailing everywhere. Some are born rich, others poor; some are beautiful, others ugly; some are intelligent, others witless. What is the reason of this?" asked King Milinda. His teacher replied that this anomaly was due to the karma of each being in his former life and quoted the Buddha's words in support. "Every living being has karma as its master, its inheritance, its congenital cause, its kinsman, its refuge. It is karma that differentiates all beings into low and high states."[2] The karma or deed may be mental, oral or physical. Its nature is judged by the accompanying volition. Involuntary or unconscious acts are not treated as karma.

According to the Buddhist doctrine of karma, one is not always compelled by an iron necessity to go through worldly joys and sorrows from one life to another. Karma is not predestination imposed on us by some mysterious creator to which we must helplessly submit ourselves. Though of pre-Buddhist origin, the doctrine of karma was highly developed by the Buddha and his followers, who held that a being possesses the freedom of will to act, irrespective of his acts in his previous births. Existence, whether in bad or good conditions, is impermanent though the latter is the better of the two. The best is freedom from karma, naiṣkarmya, leading to Arhatship and consequently to nirvāṇa (mokṣa of the Brahmanical philosophy), the total extinction of personality. During one of his sermons, the Buddha pointed to the flame of a lamp, saying it was passing through a cycle of

1. American Lectures, p. 139.
2. Milinda, 65.

The First Sermon. Stone, Gupta, Sarnath, 5th century A.D. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India)

The Buddha. Bronze, Sultanganj, Bihar, 5th century A.D. (Courtesy, City Museum of Art, Birmingham)

rebirth and death. Then he blew out the flame and said, "The flame is now extinguished. It will not burn any longer. The same is the case with an Arhaṭ who attains nirvāṇa (lit. extinction) for he will be born no more."[1] Nirvāṇa has a secondary meaning when it stands for the extinction of the springs of action: craving, hatred, delusion (moha), or their opposites.

Nirvāṇa, the ideal, requires constant spiritual exercise and contemplation. Before soaring into the subtle regions of thought, the yogin or the spiritual aspirant cultivates the four noble sentiments, Brahmavihāras, which give a foretaste of life in the Brahma world. Mettā or universal love, karuṇā or compassion, muditā or sympathetic joy and upekkhā or equanimity are the four sentiments which know no bounds of time, space or class. The Buddha imbued the robber Aṅgulimāla's mind with mettā and the robber was converted into a spiritual wayfarer. When your fellow beings are in misery, you must feel compassion for them and when they are happy you must feel happiness. These feelings are not restricted to mankind alone but cover all beings, past, present, future, whether of this world or of other worlds. Equanimity should be so real that you should feel the same towards a man who besmears your arm with sandal paste and one who hacks your other arm with an axe. Universal love and equanimity are also regarded as the perfections (pāramitās) of the Bodhisattva.

The code of morality of the Buddhist is mainly founded on the Buddha's word, while the Buddha himself repeatedly says that the Dharma is ancient and passed on by the ṛṣis or holy men from age to age. The rules of conduct for the monks and nuns are definite and are given in the Book of Discipline. The ideal of the monastic order is nirvāṇa while that of lay devotees, or worldly folk, is rebirth in a higher heaven. They perform meritorious acts, give charities to monks, brāhmaṇas and the indigent people, worship their ancestors and observe fasts four times every month. The lay

1. Saṃyutta, I, 159 ; *cf.* Suttanipāta, 235.

schoolboys by the Master, who often admonished them for their unbecoming conduct, they would now be free to do as they thought fit without let or hindrance. This irreverent remark filled the Venerable Mahākassapa with alarm for the future safety and purity of the Dhamma preached by the Master. Mahākassapa also had other reasons for anxiety as pointed out in the Mahāvaṃsa[1]. He received the garment of the Master as a token of authority equal to that of the Master and was determined to fulfil the Master's command to establish the holy truth. The remark of Subhadda was a clear indication of the necessity of convening a Council for the fulfilment of this noble objective.

It may be observed in this connection that Subhadda was not the only person to have such thoughts. There were many others who felt that with the passing of the Master the Dhamma he had taught would disappear. The account in the Tibetan Dulva and also that of Yuan Chwang refer to this general feeling of doubt and consternation as having been the motive for the convocation of the First Council.

After some deliberation the town of Rājagṛha was selected for the meeting of the Council. It is said that the Council was held near the Saptaparṇī Cave, though according to the Tibetan Dulva it is supposed to have taken place at the Nyagrodha Cave. The authority of the Cullavagga, however, need not be called in question and it has been followed by almost all subsequent accounts.

The Lokottaravāda account places the venue of the Council on the northern side of Mount Vebhāra (or Vaibhāra), while in Aśvaghoṣa's account, the Indraśāla Cave of Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa is mentioned. It is stated in the Pali Chronicle that the Saptaparṇī Cave was situated on the side of Mount Vebhāra and that a pandal was erected at the instance of King Ajātaśatru outside of this cave. The site of the cave, however, has not yet been definitely identified. None the less, there is no dispute about the fact that it is at Rājagṛha that the First Council met. It was evidently select-

1. See Mahāvaṃsa, Chapter III.

ed because accommodation was plentiful and there was no difficulty about supplies. It is also said in the Dulva that Rājagṛha was selected because King Ajātaśatru was a firm believer in the Buddhist faith and that he would therefore make ample provision for food and lodging. The accounts in the Mahāvaṃsa and Samanta-pāsādikā lend support to this assertion. Hence, the omission of the name of Ajātaśatru in the Cullavagga need not be regarded as evidence against the authenticity of this account.

The meeting actually took place in the second month of the rainy season. In the Samanta-pāsādikā we find a detailed description of the ceremonies which took place about six weeks before the actual opening of the session. Allowing for natural exaggerations, it may be affirmed that Mahākassapa took the initiative and chose four hundred and ninety-nine bhikkhus to form the Council. It is stated in the Cullavagga and confirmed in the Dīpavaṃsa that the number of monks was chosen in pursuance of a vote by the general congregation of monks assembled on the occasion and at the place of the parinibbāṇa of the Master.

There is general agreement that the number of the monks selected was five hundred. Yuan Chwang, however, makes it a thousand which may be an excusable exaggeration considering the long interval between the event and Yuan Chwang's time.

There was, however, some protest regarding the omission of Ānanda from the number of councillors chosen. In the Cullavagga, it is stated that the bhikkhus strongly interceded for Ānanda, though he had not attained Arhathood, because of the high moral standard he had reached and also because he had learnt the Dhamma and the Vinaya from the Master himself.

Ānanda was eventually accepted by Mahākassapa as a result of the motion on the part of the monks. The procedure followed regarding Ānanda has, however, given rise to a controversy. It will be observed that Ānanda was brought to trial in the course of the proceedings. The

Dulva, however, places the trial before the meeting of the Council. The account of the Cullavagga is followed by the Vinayas of the Mahīśāsakas and Mahāsaṅghikas and declares that Ānanda had to meet certain charges after the recital of the Dhamma and the Vinaya, but there is no allusion to Ānanda's failings in the Dīpavaṃsa, the Mahāvaṃsa, Buddhaghosa's Samanta-pāsādikā and the Mahāvastu.

Proceedings of the Council

The procedure followed at the Council was a simple one. With the permission of the Saṅgha, the Venerable Mahākassapa asked questions on the Vinaya of the Venerable Upāli. All these questions related to the four Pārājikas, the matter, the occasion, the individual concerned, the principal rule, the amended rule as well as to the question as to who would be guilty and who innocent of these Pārājikas. In this way the Vinaya text was agreed upon at the Council.

The turn of Ānanda came next. The subject matter of the Sutta-piṭaka, in all the five Nikāyas, was formulated as questions for Ānanda who gave appropriate answers. These questions followed the lines adopted in those on the Vinaya—the occasion of the sermons and the person or persons with reference to whom they were given. The answers given by Ānanda settled the corpus of the Sutta-piṭaka.

Buddhaghosa in the Samanta-pāsādikā gives a detailed account of the constituent parts of the Vinaya and the Sutta-piṭaka that were recited at the Council.

According to all these different accounts, beginning with the Cullavagga and ending with the Samanta-pāsādikā, the entire business of the Council is said to have been conducted by Mahākassapa, Upāli and Ānanda. The Dīpavaṃsa, however, gives a more representative character to the proceedings and the results achieved. The texts are said to have been compiled by the bhikṣus following the lead of Upāli in the Vinaya and that of Ānanda in respect of the Dhamma. The works as arranged and settled are ascribed to the collective authorship of the whole Council of bhikṣus.

The account given in the Mahāvastu differs materially from the Pali tradition. It is stated that Kātyāyana was the leading exponent and the subject of the discourse was Daśabhūmis. The Mahāvastu, however, is the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādins, a sect which came into existence long after the Mahāsaṅghikas had brought about the schism in the Church.

There is, however, no mention of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka as having been a subject of discussion at the First Council. In later literature, however, questions were raised regarding the authenticity of the Abhidhamma as an integral part of the Canon, and this is significant.

Charges against Ānanda

As already mentioned, there was considerable agitation over the admission of Ānanda to the Synod. Mahākassapa is said to have entertained misgivings regarding his admission on the ground of his failure to reach Arhathood, which he did actually reach on the eve of the session of the Council. But in spite of this achievement and of the belief and convention that the attainment of Arhathood emancipates a man from all guilt and punishment, Ānanda was arraigned by the monks on several charges which he explained as follows:

(1) He could not formulate the lesser and minor precepts, as he was overwhelmed with grief at the imminent death of the master.

(2) He had to tread upon the garment of the Master while sewing it as there was no one to help him.

(3) He permitted women to salute first the body of the Master, because he did not want to detain them. He also did this for their edification.

(4) He was under the influence of the evil one when he forgot to request the Master to enable him to continue his study for a kalpa.

(5) He had to plead for the admission of women into the Order out of consideration for Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī

who nursed the Master in his infancy.

The charges are differently framed in the other Vinayas. According to the Dulva, two other charges also seem to have been brought against Ānanda, first that he failed to supply drinking water to the Buddha though he had thrice asked for it and secondly, that he showed the privy parts of the Buddha to men and women of low character. His replies were (6) that the water of the river was muddy, and (7) that the exhibition of the privy parts would rid those concerned of their sensuality. These replies may be taken as having satisfied the Assembly.

Another important item of business transacted at the First Council was the passing of the highest penalty (Brahmadaṇḍa) on Channa who was the charioteer of the Master on the day of the Great Renunciation. This monk had slighted every member of the Order, high and low, and was arrogant in the extreme. The penalty imposed was complete social boycott. When the punishment was announced to Channa he was seized with profound repentance and grief and was purged of all his weaknesses. In short, he became an Arhat. The punishment automatically ceased to be effective.

Briefly, the proceednigs of the First Council achieved four results: (1) the settlement of the Vinaya under the leadership of Upāli, (2) the settlement of the texts of the Dhamma under the leadership of Ānanda, (3) the trial of Ānanda, and (4) the punishment of Channa.

There is, however, a difference between the account of the Cullavagga and that of the Dulva regarding the trial of Ānanda. According to the former, the trial took place practically after the conclusion of the main business, whereas in the Dulva it comes before his admission to the Council.

Prof. Oldenberg is sceptical about the historical authenticity of the First Council. The irreverent remark of Subhadda is also found in the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, but there is not the slightest allusion to the holding of the Council. This doubt based on omission is at best an

argumentum ex silentio. The unanimous tradition among all the schools of Buddhism cannot therefore be brushed aside as a pious fabrication. In spite of the minor discrepancies there is a substantial core of agreement regarding the convention of the First Council, which was a logical and ecclesiastical necessity. It was natural that the creed of the Church should be determined in a systematic way after the passing of the Master. Fortunately, Prof. Oldenberg appears to plough a lonely furrow. Scholars, both Eastern and Western, are all united in their rejection of this scepticism.

The Second Council

The Second Council was held at Vaisali a century after the passing of the Master. The time recorded should be taken as a round number. It is recorded in the Cullavagga that the monks of the Vajji country were in the habit of practising the Ten Points (dasa vatthūni) which were regarded as unorthodox by Yaśa, the son of Kākaṇḍaka. He declared these practices to be illegal and immoral in the extreme. The Vajji monks, however, pronounced the penalty of paṭisāraṇīya-kamma upon him. This necessitated the offender's apologizing to the laity who had been forbidden by Yaśa to carry out the precepts of the Vajji monks.

Yaśa defended his own view before the laity and by his eloquent advocacy won them over to his side. This increased the fury of the offending monks who pronounced the punishment of ukkhepanīya-kamma upon him, which meant his virtual expulsion from the Brotherhood.

The Ten Points or Indulgences described in the Cullavagga are as follows:

(i) Siṅgiloṇakappa, or the practice of carrying salt in a horn. This practice is contrary to pācittiya 38 which prohibits the storage of food.

(ii) Dvaṅgulakappa, or the practice of taking meals when the shadow is two fingers broad. This is against pācittiya 37 which forbids the taking of food after midday.

time, some sixty Arhats came from the Western Country and assembled on the Ahogaṅgā hill. About eighty-eight from Avantī and the Southern Country also joined them. These monks declared the question to be hard and subtle. They thought of the Venerable Revata who was at Soreyya and was celebrated for his learning and piety. They proposed to meet him and enlist his support. After a good deal of travelling they met the Venerable Revata Sahajāti. On the advice of Sambhūta Sāṇavāsi, he approached the Venerable Revata and placed the issue before him. One by one, Bhikṣu Revata brought up the Ten Points and asked for his opinion. Each one of them was declared to be invalid by the Venerable Revata.

Meanwhile, the Vajjian monks were not idle. They also went to Sahajāti in order to enlist the support of the Venerable Revata. They offered him rich presents which the Venerable Revata refused with thanks. However, they induced his disciple, Uttara, to take up their cause, but he failed. At the suggestion of Revata, the monks proceeded to Vaisali in order to settle the dispute at the place of its origin. Seven hundred monks met in a Council, but there was much rambling talk and fruitless discussion. In order to avoid further waste of time and irrelevant discussion, the matter was referred to a committee consisting of four monks from the East and four from the West. Bhikkhu Ajita was appointed the seat-regulator. The Venerable Sabbakāmī was elected president. The Ten Points were put one by one and they were declared unlawful. The questions were stated again and the same decision was arrived at in the full assembly of the Council.

The unanimous verdict of the assembly declared the conduct of the Vajjian monks to be unlawful.

The account given above is taken from the Cullavagga. The accounts in the Mahāvagga and the Dīpavaṃsa add certain points and raise the number of the bhikṣus to an extraordinarily high figure. According to the Dīpavaṃsa and the Samanta-pāsādikā, the Council was held in the

reign of King Kālāśoka, a descendent of Ajātaśatru. Kālāśoka, though formerly in favour of the Vajjian monks, was prevailed upon to give his support to the Council of the Theras. The Dīpavaṃsa mentions that the bhikṣus of Vaisali held another Council which was attended by ten thousand monks. It was called the Great Council (Mahāsaṅgīti). According to the Mahāvaṃsa, a council of seven hundred theras compiled the Dhamma. In the Samantapāsādikā, Buddhaghosa observes that after the final judgment, the seven hundred bhikṣus engaged in the recital of the Vinaya and the Dhamma and drew up a new edition resulting in the Piṭakas, Nikāyas, Aṅgas and Dharmaskhandhas.

There are slight divergences in the Chinese and Tibetan versions. The Northern version generally puts the date of the Council 110 years after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha. In spite of these minor differences there is substantial agreement on the genesis of the Council and the matters discussed and decided. Oldenberg, however, throws doubt on the genuineness of the Council on the ground that the Vinaya text does not take note of the propositions discussed at Vaisali, but these points are neither positive nor strong enough to prove the unanimous tradition of the Buddhist schools to be an invention of later writers. The story of the Second Council has every reason to be accepted as genuine. It resulted in a schism in the Buddhist Church and the secession of the Mahāsaṅghikas which is confirmed by later evidence.[1]

The Third Council

The Third Council was held at Pāṭaliputra under the aegis of the celebrated Buddhist monarch, Priyadarśī Aśoka. Aśoka was won over to the Buddhist faith within a few years of his accession to the throne. The occasion for the Third Council was supplied by the need to establish the purity of the Canon which had been imperilled by the rise of different sects and their rival claims, teachings and

1. Further details will be found in Chapters VI-A and XVI.

practices. According to Kern, the Third Council was not a general Council but a party meeting of the Sthaviravādins or Vibhajyavādins. Tissa Moggaliputta, who is reputed to have converted the Emperor to the Buddhist faith, was pained to observe the corrupt practices that had crept into the Brotherhood and the heretical doctrines preached by sectarians of various descriptions. He succeeded in subduing the heresies and expelling the sectarians from the Church. The most significant outcome of the Council was that he restored the true faith and propounded the Abhidhamma treatise, the Kathā-vatthu, during the session of the Council.

There is an account of the miraculous birth of Moggaliputta Tissa and his conversion to the Buddhist faith in the Mahāvaṃsa. The cardinal points in the life of Tissa are that he was born in a brāhmaṇa family and learned the three Vedas before he was sixteen. He was, however, won over to the new faith by Thera Siggava and very soon attained to Arhatship with all its attendant supernatural powers. It was under his influence that the Emperor made over to the Buddhist Order his son Mahinda and daughter Saṅghamittā. These two crossed to Laṅkā (Ceylon) and converted the whole island to the Buddhist faith.

With the conversion of Aśoka, the material prosperity of the monasteries grew by leaps and bounds and the monks lived in ease and comfort. The heretics who had lost their income and honour were attracted by these prospects to enter the Buddhist Order. They continued, however, to adhere to their old faiths and practices and preached their doctrines as the doctrines of the Buddha. This caused extreme distress to Thera Moggaliputta who retired to a secluded retreat on the Ahogaṅgā mountain up the Ganges and stayed there for seven years.

The number of the heretics and false monks became far larger than that of the true believers. The result was that for seven years no Uposatha or Pavāraṇā ceremony was held in any of the monasteries. The community of the faithful monks refused to observe these festivals with the heretics. The

true believers about the doctrine taught by the Blessed One and they answered that it was Vibhajjavada (the religion of analytical reasoning). When the Thera corroborated the truth of this answer, the King made the request that the brotherhood should hold the Uposatha ceremony so that the whole community might be purified of evil elements. The Thera was made the guardian of the Order.

Thera Tissa thereafter elected a thousand bhikkhus of the Brotherhood who were well versed in the three Piṭakas to make a compilation of the true doctrine. For nine months he worked with the monks and the compilation of the true Tripiṭaka was completed This Council was held in the same manner and with the same zeal as those of Mahākassapa and Thera Yasa respectively. In the midst of the Council Thera Tissa set forth the Kathavatthu-pakaraṇa wherein the heretical doctrines were thoroughly examined and refuted. Thus ended the Third Council in which a thousand bhikkhus took part.

One of the momentous results of this Council was the despatch of missionaries to the different countries of the world for the propagation of the Saddhamma. Mahinda, the son of Aśoka, and Saṅghamittā, his daughter, were charged with missionary work in the island of Ceylon. We have already mentioned the singular success of this mission in that island. From the edicts of Aśoka we know of the various Buddhist missions he sent to far-off countries in Asia, Africa and Europe. It is to a large extent due to these missionary activities that Buddhism became the ruling religion of a large part of mankind.

The Fourth Council

The Fourth Council was held under the auspices of Kaniṣka who was a powerful king of the Śaka or Turuṣka race. He held sway over a wide tract of country including Kabul, Gandhāra, Sindh, North-West India, Kashmir and part of Madhyadeśa. He was esteemed as highly by the Northern Buddhists as was Aśoka. From numismatic evi-

dence it appears that originally he was an adherent of some form of Iranian religion, and was later converted to the Buddhist faith. Though we have no indisputable evidence of the date of his conversion, it is almost certain that the date of the Council held under his inspiration and patronage was about 100 A.D. The place of the Assembly was, according to one authority, Jālandhar, and according to another, Kashmir. The Southern Buddhists do not recognize this Council and there is no reference to it in the Chronicles of Ceylon. It would not be wrong to assume that the Buddhists of the Theravāda schools did not participate in the Council. According to a Tibetan record, one of the results of the Council was the settling of the dissensions in the Brotherhood. The eighteen sects were all acknowledged to be the repositories of the genuine doctrine. According to Yuan Chwang, King Kaniṣka became interested in the Buddhist scriptures and sent for a monk every day to give him instruction but, as the instruction differed and was often contradictory, the King was perplexed and consulted the Venerable Pārśva about the true doctrine. It was on his advice that he decided to convoke a Council in which the various sects would be represented. He was anxious to put an end to the dissensions in the Church. The King built a monastery for the accommodation of 500 monks who were called upon to write commentaries on the Piṭakas. The commentary on the Sutta-piṭaka was composed in 100,000 ślokas. The Vinaya-vibhāṣā, a commentary on the Vinaya, also consisted of 100,000 ślokas, and the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā, which was composed in the Council, also ran to the same number.

The proceedings of the Council were thus confined to the composition of the commentaries. And it appears that the doctrines which enlisted the greatest common measure of agreement were the most strongly stressed. It appears also that the monks of the Sarvāstivāda school predominated at the Council. It is also highly probable that the major subdivisions of the Sthaviravāda schools including the less orthodox sections were also represented in fair number.

There is no evidence that Mahāyāna Buddhism was represented in the proceedings, as it came into prominence only after the birth of Nāgārjuna which was after the Council. The Rājataraṅginī holds that Nāgārjuna flourished after the rule of the Turuṣka kings.

Yuan Chwang reports that after the treatises were composed they were inscribed on copper plates and enclosed in stone boxes which were deposited in a tope made for the purpose. "The most significant trait of the Third Council", says Kern, "is that it closed a period of old quarrels between the sects; it did not prevent the rise of new aspirations."

Though the details appear to be exaggerated, it would not be reasonable to disbelieve entirely the tradition which persisted among the Northern Buddhists regarding the historical truth of the Fourth Council. We therefore demur to accept the view of La Vallée Poussin that it was "an apologetic quasi-invention". The fact that Yuan Chwang records the occurrence of the Council after a lapse of five centuries, and that the records in the Tibetan Chronicles bearing testimony to the convocation of the Council are of still later date, does not warrant complete scepticism.

It is a matter of regret that Yuan Chwang and the Tibetan chroniclers do not expressly mention the medium in which the works were composed. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Sanskrit was the language used at the proceedings. In fact the Abhidharma-kośa of Vasubandhu is based upon these Vibhāṣās, and the commentary of Yaśomitra cites *ipsissima verba* from the old Vibhāṣā literature. Furthermore, the discovery of the work of Ghoṣaka, the Abhidharmāmṛta, which is not far removed from the time of Kaniṣka, should clinch all controversy. The Fourth Council may thus be regarded as an epoch-making event in the history of Buddhism in that it made Sanskrit the vehicle of Buddhist scriptures. "All accounts are silent on the idiom of the sacred texts approved or revised at the Third Council, but from that silence we must not infer that the Chinese pilgrims had no notion of a canon that was written in another language

but Sanskrit. It is an untoward circumstance that all the works of the old canon, the Tripiṭaka in the proper acceptation of the term, so far as they have been preserved, are only known through translations of Sanskritized texts." These words of Kern deserve careful consideration, and perhaps sound a warning against hasty dogmatism.

APPENDIX I

Councils in Ceylon

According to the Mahāvaṃsa and other Ceylonese traditions three Councils were held in Ceylon.

The first of these was held during the reign of King Devānampiya Tissa (247—207 B.C.) under the presidentship of the Venerable Ariṭṭha Thera. This Council was held after the arrival in the island of Buddhist missionaries, headed by Thera Mahinda, a son of Emperor Aśoka. According to tradition, sixty thousand Arhats took part in the assembly, and as desired by Thera Mahinda, the Venerable Ariṭṭha, a Siṃhalese bhikkhu, recited the Canon. Thera Ariṭṭha is considered to be the first pupil of Mahinda in the line of the Siṃhalese Theras and seventh in succession of the Ācariya-paramparā (lineage of teachers). The Council took place at the site of the Thūpārāma, in Anurādhapura.

In spite of this, the next Council which was held during the time of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (101—77 B.C.)[2] is considered to be the Fourth by the Theravāda school although, in India, Kaniṣka's Council was recognized as the Fourth.

According to the Siṃhalese tradition, not only was the Tripiṭaka rehearsed, but its commentaries were revised, recast and arranged subject-wise. It is said that as Buddhist religious practice and culture were threatened by growing materialism and the moral decline of mankind through wars and famines, the learned Mahātheras decided to hold this

1. See Kern, p. 122.
2. Some other sources believe the date to be 88–46 B.C.

synod so that the entire Canon and the commentaries might be committed to writing. At the end of the Council, the texts along with the Aṭṭha-kathās were inscribed on palm leaves and the scriptures were checked over a hundred times.

As many as 500 learned bhikkhus took part in the deliberations under the presidentship of Mahāthera Rakkhita. This is called the Alu-vihāra or the Ālokavihāra Council as it was held at Āloka Cave in the village of Matale in Ceylon. It is said that for the most part, it was patronized by a Minister of the King.

About a century ago, in 1865 A.D., another Council was held at Ratnapura in Ceylon under the presidentship of the Venerable Hikkaduve Siri Sumaṅgala. It continued for five months and was patronized by Iddamalgoda Basnayaka Nilame.

APPENDIX II

Councils in Thailand (Siam)

The Saṅgītivaṃsa[1], or the History of the Recitals, written by a royal Thai patriarch named Somdej Phra Vanarat (Bhadanta Vanaratana) during the reign of Rama I, in B.E. 2332 (1789 A.D.), records as many as nine Councils. Of these nine Councils, the first three were held in India, the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh in Ceylon, and the eighth and ninth in Thailand. The history of the five Councils including the first two of Ceylon is the same as that in the Mahāvaṃsa and other Siṃhalese traditions. The remaining two Councils, as described in the Saṅgītivaṃsa, were not Councils in the true sense of the term.

The Sixth Council (in Ceylon)

The Sixth Council, as mentioned in the Saṅgītivaṃsa,

1. Only two copies of manuscripts of this book are preserved in the National Library of Thailand in Bangkok. It was published in B.E. 2466 (1923 A.D.) under the royal decree of King Rama VI to commemorate the cremation ceremony of H.R.H. Prince Chudhadhajadhartiloka Kromkhun Bejboon Indrajaya, a son of King Rama V.

was held during the reign of King Mahānāma in B.E. 516 in which only the commentaries were translated from Siṃhalese into Māgadhī (Pali) by Bhadanta Buddhaghosa whose scholarship had been tested in many ways by the gods and the learned bhikkhus of Ceylon.

The Seventh Council (in Ceylon)

The Seventh Council is said to have revised only the commentaries of the Tripiṭaka of the Mahātheras and finally these were recited at the Council held under the presidentship of the Venerable Mahākassapa. This took place in B.E. 1587 in the reign of King Parākramabāhu the Great. The Conference, which took place in the royal palace, lasted a year.

The Eighth Council (in Thailand)

In order to establish Buddhism on a firm basis, King Śrīdharmacakravartī Tilaka Rājādhirāja, the ruler of Northern Thailand called this Council in Chiengmai, his capital. The Assembly was held in Mahābodhi Ārāma between B.C. 2000 and 2026 and continued for a year. All the learned monks in Thailand took part in this Council.

The Ninth Council (in Thailand)

This Council was held in Bangkok in B.E. 2331, after a war between Thailand and a neighbouring kingdom. The old capital, Ayūthia (Ayodhyā), was destroyed by fire and many books and manuscripts of the Tripiṭaka were reduced to ashes. Moreover, the Brotherhood was disorganized and morally weakened by reason of the prolonged hostilities. King Rama I and his brother were perturbed at the moral laxity of the Saṅgha. They consulted the learned brethren in order to convene a Council so that the faith might be restored. Under the royal patronage 218 Elders and 32 lay scholars assembled together and continued the recitation of the Tripiṭaka for about a year. During and after this Council, the revival of Buddhism was in full swing in Thailand. Monasteries were rebuilt and pagodas were restored. Owing

to the enthusiasm of the general public many new monasteries and temples were also built.

APPENDIX III

Councils in Burma

The first three Councils having been held in India and the fourth in Ceylon where Pali books were committed to writing, the Fifth was held in order to prepare a uniform edition of the Pali Canon and to record it on marble slabs. This great Buddhist Council was convened at Mandalay in 1871 A.D. (B.E. 2414) under the patronage of King Min-don-min, and 2,400 learned monks and teachers participated. The Elders Jāgarābhivaṃsa, Narindābhidhaja and Sumaṅgala Sāmi presided in turn. The recitation and recording of the Tripiṭaka on marble continued for about five months in the royal palace. Various available editions of the Tripiṭaka were used for comparison and collation by the learned Mahātheras, and the recording done on as many as 729 marble slabs selected for the purpose.

The Sixth Great Buddhist Council

The Sixth Buddhist Council was inaugurated in May 1954, in Rangoon, with the collaboration and participation of the learned bhikkhus of the various countries of the world, particularly India, Ceylon, Nepal, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and Pakistan. The Venerable Abhidhaja Mahāraṭṭha Guru Bhadanta Revata presided.

About 500 bhikkhus from Burma, well versed in the study and practice of the teachings of the Buddha, were invited to take the responsibility for re-examining the text of the Tripiṭaka. Similar groups of monks were organized in each of the Buddhist countries to examine the texts of the Tripiṭaka. The Great Council that was inaugurated in 1954 was to go on till the completion of its task at the full moon of Vaiśākha, 1956, that is, the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's mahāparinirvāṇa. It is believed that this anniversary will bring about

a great revival of Buddhism and universal peace throughout the world.

On the auspicious days of the inauguration of the Sixth Council, which continued for three days, many valuable and important messages were received from all corners of the world, including India. Here we reproduce the message of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister:

"In sending my reverential greetings to the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana which is being inaugurated in Rangoon on the Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā, my thought naturally goes back to similar Councils which have been held during nearly 2,500 years since the Parinibbāṇa of the Buddha. The first three of these great and historic gatherings were held respectively at Rājagṛha, Vaisali and Pāṭaliputra, the three places famous in Buddhist history and sanctified by the repeated tread on their soils of the Great Teacher. The other two were held in Ceylon and Burma respectively, which received his teaching and have till today kept it alive in their own life and culture. It is a great idea to have the original texts revised and re-edited and brought out not only in their original form in Burmese script with Burmese translation but also the original texts with translations in the Hindi and English languages and scripts.

The programme of establishing a great Buddhist University which will serve as a centre for radiating light as a sequel to this great gathering will help not only to re-enliven and revive the teaching of the Master, but will also emphasize the great need in modern times for the spiritual and moral well-being of mankind, which can be attained not only by supplying its material needs and requirements in however abundant a measure that may be possible, but kindling in him that spiritual and moral light which alone can solve the problems born of greed, hatred and delusion which are at the root of all the conflicts that threaten to involve mankind in destruction.

Let us hope that it will succeed in not only reviving interest in Buddhism in countries where the religion of the Buddha is not followed today, but also in reinforcing and strengthening faith in the lives of those who are fortunate enough even today to follow that faith. May this great gathering once again bring the message of peace and goodwill to distracted mankind." RAJENDRA PRASAD

"About a year ago or more, the Prime Minister of Burma told me that a Great Council or Synod of Buddhism was being organized and would be held in Rangoon. My mind went back to the previous Councils in the history of Buddhism from the days of the First Council which was called by King Ajātaśatru of Magadha at Rājagṛha, to that held in Mandalay in 1871. These Councils were landmarks in the history of Buddhism.

And now I welcome the holding of the Sixth Council of this great religion. It is inaugurated on a date of great historical significance—the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha. The full moon which shone with all its brightness on the day of the birth of the Buddha, on his attainment of enlightenment and on his parinibbāṇa, will be shining again on this auspicious day after two and a half millenia of human history.

This world Council will consider the doctrines and tenets of Buddhism and will perhaps codify them afresh for those of the Buddhist faith. But the Buddha has been something greater than all doctrine and dogma, and his eternal message has thrilled humanity through the ages. Perhaps at no time in past history was his message of peace more needed for a suffering and distracted humanity than it is today. May this great Council spread anew his great message of peace and bring a measure of solace to our generation.

I pay my homage to the memory of the Buddha and send my respectful greetings to the great Council at Rangoon which is meeting on an auspicious anniversary at a time of great need for the world." JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

CHAPTER V

Asoka and the Expansion of Buddhism

I. Asoka

Aśoka is rightly looked upon as the first great royal patron of Buddhism. Indeed, it was through his efforts that Buddhism came to occupy the prominent position it did in India and abroad.

According to Buddhist literary sources, in his youth Aśoka was known to be a man of fierce temperament and called Caṇḍa Aśoka (fierce Aśoka). As a prince, he was appointed Governor of Vidiśā (modern Bhilsa) where he married a rich merchant's daughter, who was to be the mother of Prince Mahendra. As soon as he came to know that Bindusāra, his father, was on the point of death, he rushed to the capital, Pāṭaliputra, occupied it and killed all the princes barring his own brother. This act on his part must have aroused strong popular opposition and it is said that Aśoka had to contend with the situation for four years before he was crowned King with public acclaim.

Aśoka's thirteenth rock-edict says that at the end of eight years of his reign. he invaded the country of Kaliṅga, modern Orissa. In that invasion, many thousands of men were killed, several thousands were carried off into captivity and thousands died from the effects of the war. It is well known that this tremendous loss of life proved to be a turning point in the life of Aśoka. He repented and decided to undertake no further military campaigns. Instead he began to think of religious conquests, of *dhammavijaya.* He wanted to spread among his own subjects and among people outside his kingdom a new life, to inculcate among

them a love of piety and religion. To this end he appointed officers to go round the country on periodical religious missions.

Aśoka thus became a zealous follower of the Buddha and took upon himself the task of making known to the people the teachings of the Lord. In his Bhabra edict, seven passages occur and most of these have been identified with certain passages in Pali literature. He wanted all people—monks as well as laymen—to have these passages read out to them. He thought that by inculcating the teachings of the Buddha, men and women would become better people. He paid reverence to the Buddha, the Dhamma, his Law, and the Saṅgha, his Order of Buddhist monks. He undertook pilgrimages to the Buddhist holy places. At the end of twenty years of his reign, he visited the Lumbinīdevī garden, where the Buddha was born. There he erected a pillar bearing an inscription which says that he visited the place to pay homage to the birth-place of the Buddha. Moreover, to commemorate his visit to the place he exempted the local people from paying taxes to his government. Similarly, he paid visits to Bodh Gaya and Sarnath where the Buddha had attained enlightenment and preached his first sermon. At the latter place, there is a pillar, now in fragments, which speaks of excommunicating those who would break the unity of the Buddhist Saṅgha.

What was Aśoka's conception of the Dhamma? He recognized the sanctity of life and condemned the slaughter of animals, whether as sacrifices or otherwise. At one time, he said, a large number of animals were killed in his kitchen for food for his household, but he had reduced the number to only two peacocks and one deer, and these were killed every day. He further declared that even these would not be killed in the future. He wanted the people to cultivate moral virtues, such as the observance of truth, restraint, kindness, charity, purity, gentleness, respect, obedience to one's elders and teachers, liberality to friends,

kinsmen, acquaintances and even servants and slaves, as advocated in a famous Pali sutta, the Sigālovāda-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya. He enjoined the control of evil thoughts, such as anger, ferocity, conceit, envy and misguided self-will. He advocated tolerance for all religious sects and denominations, and respect for all pious men, such as the Sramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and Jainas. It is also well known that he dedicated caves to the Ājīvikas. He wanted all religious denominations to desist from self-praise and condemnation of others. The pillar edicts of Aśoka which were inscribed towards the end of his reign show that he was completely converted to the Buddhist ideas of kindness to all created beings. He drew up a list of different kinds of living beings which were to be exempted from slaughter. He felt that the same consideration should be shown to does and female pigs that were bearing, or suckling young ones. He laid down that animals need not feed on other animals. He condemned the castration of animals and their branding on Buddhist holy days, such as the eighth, fourteenth or fifteenth of each fortnight, or on holy days of the Tiṣya constellation. He also set free prisoners from his prisons from time to time. He wanted all people to come closer to the gods in virtue and thus minimize the difference between gods and men.

As already described, Aśoka appointed religious officers of various grades to different provinces to help the people to lead a pious life. He had his edicts carved on rocks and stone pillars. The rock edicts are mostly to be found in places at the periphery of his vast empire and the pillar edicts along high roads or at places of pilgrimage where large crowds gathered. He wanted his subjects to practise the laws of piety, and he and his family also practised them. He went on religious tours instead of going on hunting expeditions, as he thought that these would enable him to meet ascetics and brāhmaṇas. He could thus have religious discussions and confer large charities upon them. He performed pious acts such as planting

trees, digging wells, opening hospitals for men and beasts, in his own land and in the lands of his neighbours like the Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, in Kerala and other countries as far south as Ceylon. This, however, was not all. As we shall see, Aśoka's religious missions found their way to many far-off countries, too.

As a staunch follower of Buddhism, he conferred large gifts upon the monastic establishments of the Buddhists. This attracted many non-Buddhists to the Buddhist Saṅgha for an easier life with the result that the purity of the Saṅgha suffered and consequently its periodical religious observances were interrupted. Hence it was decided to hold a religious synod at Pāṭaliputra to determine the true nature of the Dhamma, and to banish those who would not adhere to it. Apparently, it was after this Council that it was decided to send religious missions to various countries. One learns from Buddhist literary sources that such missions were sent to the land of the Yavanas (Ionian Greeks), Gandhāra, Kashmir, and the Himalayan regions in the North; to the western part of India such as Aparāntaka; the southern parts such as Vanavāsī and Mysore, and farther south to countries as far as Ceylon and Suvarṇa-bhūmi, the Land of Gold (Malay and Sumatra). These records dwell at length particularly on the mission to Ceylon, where Aśoka had sent his son Mahendra and his daughter Saṅghamitrā.

This information is confirmed and further supplemented by Aśoka's thirteenth rock edict wherein it is stated that he tried to spread the Dhamma not only in his territory or among the peoples of the border lands but also in kingdoms far off, such as those of Antiochus (Antiyoko) II, King of Syria, and the kingdoms of four other kings, still farther off, *i.e.*, Ptolemy (Turameya) of Egypt, Antigonos (Antakini) of Macedonia, Alexander (Alikasundara) of Epirus, an ancient district of northern Greece, and Magas of Cyrenia, in North Africa. He has also mentioned the names of Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāṇḍyas, Coḷas, Andhras,

Pulindas, Ceylon, etc., in this context. In the second rock edict we are told that in practically all these countries, Aśoka had opened hospitals, both for men and beasts, had dug wells and tanks and planted trees and medicinal plants for the welfare and happiness of all beings.

It is clear that the efforts of Aśoka were largely responsible for the popularization of the teachings of the Buddha in and outside India. It is he who paved the way for the Buddhist missionaries—occasionally helped by kings like Kaniṣka—to take Buddhism to Central Asia, China, Japan and Tibet in the North, and to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and other countries in the South.

II. Expansion of Buddhism

A. *In India*

During the first and second centuries after the Nirvāṇa, Buddhism could hardly be distinguished from other ascetic movements. It was evidently in the Maurya period that Buddhism emerged as a distinct religion with great potentialities for expansion. But even at the beginning of this period, its activities were mainly confined to Magadha and Kośala. Small communities of brethren may have come into existence also in the West, in Mathura and Ujjayinī. At the time of the Second Council, which was held at Vaisali about a hundred years after the Buddha, invitations were sent to communities in distant places like Pātheya, Avantī, Kauśāmbī, Sankāśya and Kanauj. Mathura had become an important centre of Buddhism in the early years of Maurya supremacy.

The history of the Buddhist Church in this period was to all appearances not an undisturbed one. Owing to the gradual expansion of Buddhism and for want of regular communications between the distant communities the Church was gradually losing its unity. Local influences were slowly affecting the conduct of the various communities and shaping them in different ways. This ultimately gave rise to various

schools. During the reign of Aśoka, the Church must have shown symptoms of serious disintegration and the inscriptions of Aśoka tell us that he took special measures to safeguard its unity.

Aśoka's patronage must have contributed to the spread of Buddhism not only within the empire but also to distant lands even in his lifetime. It is quite conceivable that after the reorganization of the Magadhan Church at the Third Council and with the co-operation of the emperor himself, efforts were made to carry Buddhism to distant countries. The success of the first missionary activity might not have been very great so far as foreign countries were concerned but the epigraphic records and Buddhist monuments of post-Aśokan times bear clear testimony to the fact that within the Maurya empire such activities must have had great success.

With the advent of the Śuṅgas, Buddhism lost official patronage. The Buddhist accounts are unanimous in representing Puṣyamitra Śuṅga as a persecutor of Buddhists. The temporary undermining of Buddhism by Puṣyamitra, however, was ineffective, for the people had taken up the cause of Buddhism. This popular support was at the root of the great progress made by Buddhism during the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period. This is made amply clear by the very large number of private donations recorded on the Buddhist monuments of the period. A number of famous Buddhist establishments like the Bhārhut stūpa, the Karle caves, and the Sanchi stūpa belong to the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period and testify to the great prosperity which Buddhism enjoyed then. Buddhism had developed from a monastic religion into a popular one. It had become a theistic religion with the Buddha and his relics as cult objects.

It was at this time that Buddhism was adopted by the Greeks in the North. King Menander was a great champion of the faith. After he had established his capital at Śākala[1], he performed many acts of piety. From

1. Sāgalā mentioned at the commencement of the Milinda-pañha.

Menander's time the Greeks in India adopted Buddhism as their religion, and thereafter played the part of donors to Buddhist establishments. The Pali texts represent the Greeks as taking part even in missionary activities. We are told that after the conversion of the Yavana (Greek) country to Buddhism, Moggaliputta Tissa went to that country and selected a Greek Elder, Dharmarakṣita, for missionary work. Dharmarakṣita was then sent to the country of Aparāntaka where he successfully preached the Law of the Buddha and converted thousands of people, including women and nobles. The Greeks in India were also responsible for evolving a new style of Buddhist art, usually known as Indo-Greek, which flourished mostly in the Punjab and north-western India.

The rapid expansion of Buddhism during Aśoka's time to various parts of India resulted in the rise of Buddhist sects whose number is given as eighteen. The origin of these sects was not due so much to doctrinal differences, except in certain cases, as to the geographical factor. With the spread of Buddhism, communities were founded in various parts of the country. As there was no co-ordinating organization, many of the communities developed their own traditions for the preservation of the ancient teachings. In some cases, the differences between the schools were insignificant. That is why a number of them either disappeared or merged with the others within a short time. The Mahāsaṅghika during the second century after the Nirvāṇa gave rise to eight different schools, among which the Ekavyavahārika, the Lokottaravāda, the Aparaśaila, and the Uttaraśaila were prominent. Division started in the Sthaviravāda camp a century later. The first schism gave rise to two schools—the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūla-sthaviravāda (also called the Haimavata). Since its inception in Vaisali, the Mahāsaṅghika was mostly confined to the East from where it spread, especially to the South. The followers of this school probably did not constitute a strong community in the North as they are mentioned

only in two inscriptions. The Mahāsaṅghika developed a literature of its own and in fact it claimed to have preserved the most authentic tradition of early Buddhism in so far as it traced its lineage from Mahākāśyapa who was responsible for convoking the first Buddhist Council, at which the Canon was recited for the first time according to tradition. The existence of practically all the branches of the Mahāsaṅghika mentioned in literature in the region of Dhānyakaṭaka shows that it had become the most important stronghold of the Mahāsaṅghika under the patronage of the Śāta-vāhanas and their successors in the Krishna valley. These schools continued to prosper till the 3rd or 4th century A.D. The schools arising from the other camp, the Sthaviravāda, have also left their definite mark in literature and epigraphy from the Śuṅga period right up to the Kuṣāṇa period and may be said to have flourished from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. The Sarvāstivāda and its branches flourished mostly in the North. The Sarvāstivāda school was held in esteem in the entire region from Mathura to Nagara(hāra) and from Takṣaśilā to Kashmir.

Kaniṣka's reign is also a landmark in the history of Buddhism. Tradition not only represents him as a great patron of the religion but also associates him with a galaxy of Buddhist masters who shaped Buddhism in later times. It was in this period that the Indo-Greek school of Buddhist art achieved its greatest development. Buddhist monks from India carried Buddhism to Central Asia and China. A new form of Buddhism, the Mahāyāna, of far-reaching consequence, also came to be evolved at the same time. Kaniṣka must have contributed a good deal to the progress of Buddhism.

With the advent of the Gupta dynasty, Buddhism received a new impetus. Although the Gupta emperors were Bhāgavatas, the adherents of a Brahmanical faith, they were sympathetic towards the cause of Buddhism. We have a number of important inscriptions recording

gifts of private donors in the regions of Kauśāmbī, Sanchi, Bodh Gaya and Mathura from the beginning of the 5th century A.D. till the end of the 6th. There is a large number of records, written by the Chinese pilgrims who came to India in this period, which throw light on the condition of Buddhism in the country. Moreover, Buddhist art with its relics at Mathura, Sarnath, Nalanda, Ajanta, Bāgh and Dhānyakaṭaka speaks eloquently of the prosperity that Buddhism enjoyed in the Gupta period. Fa-hien, who came to India during the reign of Chandragupta II, testifies to the flourishing condition of Buddhism, especially in Uḍḍiyāna, Gandhāra, Mathura, Kanauj, Kośala, Magadha and Tāmralipti. The foundation of the institutions at Nalanda was also due to the patronage of the Gupta rulers.

From the middle of the 7th century A.D. again we have a number of records giving a clear picture of the condition of Buddhism in India. So far as its extent is concerned, it had reached its height in this period but it also showed certain symptoms of decay. Nevertheless, some of the great centres of Buddhist study like Nalanda and Valabhī were still keeping the light burning vigorously. King Harṣavardhana in his later days became a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In the West the rulers of the Maitraka dynasty at Valabhī had become patrons of the Buddhist faith from the middle of the 6th century A.D. Numerous Buddhist relics discovered at Valabhī testify to the existence of Buddhism in that area up to the 10th century A.D.

The century that followed Harṣa's rule saw a state of anarchy unfavourable to the growth of a monastic religion like Buddhism, which depended so much on the patronage of the rulers. Buddhism still lingered in Kashmir, Swat Valley, Valabhī and other places in the North but its condition was far from prosperous. However, while Buddhism was slowly disappearing from other parts of India, it experienced another great revival in eastern

India under the patronage of the Pāla dynasty. Most of the rulers of this dynasty were devout Buddhists. They were responsible for new endowments to the Nalanda monastery and also for the foundation of new monasteries, such as Vikramaśīlā[1], Odantapurī and Somapurī.

Thus it may be concluded that, although some of the old centres of study had fallen into neglect before the rise of the Guptas, new and more vigorous centres came into existence under them. These new centres were numerous but, during the early Gupta period, Kashmir was the most predominant centre of Buddhist studies. Later, after the foundation of Nalanda, the centre of studies gradually shifted to eastern India. Nalanda dominated the whole Buddhist world for nearly three centuries, from the 6th to the 9th. In spite of the patronage of the great Pāla rulers, however, Nalanda was soon eclipsed by two other institutions, Vikramaśīlā and Odantapurī which had been founded under the Pālas. Eastern India, with its new institutions, Vikramaśīlā, Odantapurī, Jagaddala, Vikramapurī, etc., almost monopolized the commerce in Buddhist culture from the 9th to the 12th centuries A.D.

B. *In Northern Countries*

Central Asia and China

Although we do not know the definite date of the introduction of Buddhism to Central Asia, it is almost certain that the nomadic tribes, the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas, as well as Indian merchants had carried elements of Indian culture with Buddhism to the different states of Eastern Turkestan at least a century before the Christian era. Positive evidence is now available to prove that small Indian colonies had been founded in the southern part of this region from Khotan up to the Labnor region before the Christian era. An Indian dialect, similar to that of north-western India, was the official language in some of these states. The

1. Also written Vikramaśilā.

Indian colonists were the first to carry Buddhism to this region.

Ancient Khotanese traditions claim that a son of Aśoka named Kustana founded the kingdom 234 years after the Nirvāṇa, *i.e.*, about 240 B.C., and that it was the latter's grandson, Vijayasambhava, who introduced Buddhism in Khotan. A Buddhist scholar named Ārya Vairocana came from India and became the King's preceptor. The first monastery in Khotan was built in 211 B.C. The tradition further claims that an Indian dynasty ruled Khotan for 56 generations during which Buddhism continued to be the dominant religion of the state. In its heyday, Buddhism had in Khotan nearly four thousand establishments, including monasteries, temples and chapels. Chinese pilgrims, such as Fa-hien, Song-yun and Yuan Chwang, testify to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Khotan until about the 8th century A.D. Khotan became the place of the dissemination of Buddhism to other states in the South, such as Niya, Calmadana (Cherchen), Kroraina (Loulan), and also to Cokkuka (Kashgar).

There were four important states in the northern part of Chinese Turkestan, *viz.*, Bharuka (Aksu), Kucha, Agnideśa (Kara-shahr) and Kao-chang (Turfan). Kucha was the most powerful among the four states and played a preponderant role in the spread of Buddhism to other northern states as well as to China. Kucha must have received Buddhism in the 1st century A.D. The Chinese annals of the 3rd century clearly state that there were nearly one thousand stūpas and temples in Kucha in this period. Kuchean Buddhist monks had gone to China in this period and took an active part in the work of translation of Buddhist texts. Archaeological finds show that Buddhism was a flourishing religion in the North till about the 8th century A.D. After the decline of these states, Buddhism was patronized till the 11th century A.D. by the Uigur Turks who had their capital in the Turfan region.

China received Buddhism from the nomadic tribes of Eastern Turkestan towards the end of the 1st century B.C.,

and within a century it was officially recognized as a religion worthy of toleration. Buddhist scholars began coming to China from the end of the 1st century after Christ and their activities were intensified more and more. But throughout the Han period (65—220 A.D.), although a number of scholars had come to China, worked among the Chinese and translated a fairly large number of texts into Chinese, Buddhism had a hard struggle with the indigenous religious systems. Confucianism, with its traditional prestige at the Court and its hold on the nobility, looked down upon Buddhism as a barbarian religion. In the Han period attempts were made to transform Confucianism into a religion but its religious character was much less developed than Buddhism. Taoism was more firmly established as a religion but its philosophical background was much weaker than that of Buddhism. This gave Buddhism certain advantages over the indigenous religions.

As Buddhism was a much richer religion than Confucianism and as it possessed a much profounder philosophy than Taoism, it soon attracted the Chinese. The Chinese literati themselves started pleading for Buddhism. Thus Mou-tseu, who lived towards the closing years of the Han period (170 — 225 A.D.), wrote a treatise in which he compared the doctrines of Buddhism with the teachings of Confucius and Lao-tseu and tried to establish the superiority of the former.

The writings of such people as Mou-tseu gradually succeeded in creating confidence about Buddhism in the minds of the educated Chinese. Besides, the life of purity followed by the Indian Buddhists who had come to China and by their Chinese disciples did not fail to attract the Chinese to this new faith. The patronage of the foreign dynasties in China also helped the cause of the new religion. The Wei dynasty which came to power in the 4th century A.D. was of foreign origin. They were great patrons of Buddhism and were responsible for the beginnings of all the great works of Buddhist art in that country. The first emperor of the dynasty made Buddhism a State religion.

Henceforward, Buddhism continued to prosper in China until about the 11th century A.D. Successions of Indian teachers from India kept the torch burning. From the 4th century A.D., however, the Chinese monks themselves started going to India and making a deep study of Buddhism under Indian teachers. A vast Buddhist literature, translated from Indian sources by Indian and Chinese scholars, helped the Chinese to read Buddhism in translation. Some of the translations also had great literary value and came to be looked upon as classics in Chinese literature.

The influence of Buddhism on Chinese life and thought was tremendous. Besides certain forms of theistic religious beliefs, Buddhism introduced in China the doctrine of rebirth, the idea of causality, and the belief in reward and retribution. Buddhist philosophy, especially its conception of reality which permeates everything in nature and the notion of universal impermanence, had an abiding influence on the poets and artists and influenced China's aesthetic outlook. Buddhism also brought to the Chinese a deep religious feeling and a profound faith, which inspired the great works of art in China, such as we find in Yun-Kang, Hung-men, Tun-huang and other places.[1]

Korea and Japan

Korea, one of the important Buddhist countries in the Far East, was introduced to Buddhism early in the 4th century A.D. In those days, the Korean peninsula was divided into three parts, namely, Koguryu in the North, Pakche in the South-West and Silla in the South-East. The history of Buddhism in these three parts of Korea is therefore not identical. Buddhism was first brought to Koguryu by a Chinese monk in 372 A.D. It was twelve years later that Buddhism came to Pakche through the agency of a Central Asian monk named Mārānanda. Silla was the last to embrace Buddhism which came nearly 30 years after it had been introduced in Koguryu.

1. For further information see Chapter VI, pp. 124-131.

The chief significance of Korean Buddhism lies in the role it played as an intermediary between China and Japan, for, although Buddhism received royal patronage almost throughout its history in Korea, there was no notable development in its doctrine.

Korean Buddhism was at the height of its power in the 11th century A.D. during the rule of the Wang dynasty of Korea. Before this period, Buddhism had been spreading under the influence of the kings of the Silla dynasty. At this time, several famous scholars went to China in order to study the Buddhist doctrines. Of these, Yuan Ts'o (613-- 683 A.D.) of the Fa Sian sect, Yuan Hiao (617—670 A.D.) and Yi Siang (625—702 A.D.) of the Houa Yen sect are the best known. After the 11th century A.D., Buddhism, which had hitherto been the religion of the aristocracy related to the Silla dynasty, became the faith of the common people, owing largely to the efforts of Yi T'ien, P'u Chao and a number of other monks. Yi T'ien, a scholar famous for his editing of the Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (called Yi T'ien Lu), studied Buddhism in China and then propagated the doctrine of both the Houa Yen and the T'ien T'ai sects in Korea. He also wrote articles on Buddhism in the Korean language. However, it was P'u Chao who introduced Korea to Zen Buddhism which, in later days, was to play such an important part in its history. During the period when the Yuan dynasty of the Mongolian Empire had gained sovereignty over the Wang dynasty, Korean Buddhism was much influenced by Lamaism. After the decline of the Mongolian Empire, the Rhee dynasty of Chosen (Korea) accepted Confucianism as the leading principle of its culture and thus dislodged Buddhism from its place of honour. Nevertheless, even though it lost royal patronage in Korea, Buddhism continued to flourish as the religion of the masses.

Modern Korean Buddhism is, in fact, Zen Buddhism tinged with a belief in Amitābha Buddha or Maitreya Bodhisattva.

Japan has been called the land of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

This form of Buddhism originally flourished in China and travelled to Japan *via* Korea. Thereafter Buddhism developed through the efforts of both Chinese and Japanese monks. It is generally held by Japanese scholars that Buddhism first made its appearance in the year 552 A.D. and that it came from Kudara (Pakche), one of the kingdoms of Korea.

For our purpose, the historical division of Japanese Buddhism can be made as follows:—

(i) The period of importation. 6th century to 7th century A.D. (The Asuka and Nara period.)
(ii) The period of nationalization. 9th century to 14th century A.D. (The Heian and Kamakura period.)
(iii) The period of continuation. 15th century to 20th century A.D. (The Muromachi, Momoyama, and Edo period, and the modern age.)

(i) *The period of importation.*—The first manifestations of Buddhism in Japan consisted chiefly in adapting it to Shintoism, a native cult of Japan. For this purpose, Buddhist monks accepted ancestor worship and admitted, side by side with the Buddha's image, the gods of Shintoism on the ground that these represented the various incarnations of the Buddha. In this manner Buddhism was able gradually to establish itself among the common people without rejecting Shintoism outright.

An important advantage was that when Buddhism first made its appearance in Japan, it was introduced along with the highly developed culture of China. It was largely because of its cultural character that Buddhism was accepted by the aristocracy, which was the intellectual class of Japan in those days. Once it was patronized by the aristocracy, Buddhism rapidly spread throughout the country. Several emperors of ancient Japan adopted Buddhism and accepted its tenets as their guiding principles in life. Prince Shotoku (574—621 A.D.), Regent of the Empress Suiko, made a great contribution to Buddhism by founding the Horyuji monastery and by writing commentaries on three scriptures. In fact,

he did for Buddhism in Japan what King Aśoka had done for it in India, and what Constantine did for Christianity in the Roman Empire.

The sects introduced from China in those days were six in number: Kusha (the Abhidharma-kośa school), Sanron (the Three-Treatise school of the Mādhyamika), Jojitsu (the Satyasiddhi-śāstra school), the Kegon (the Avataṃsaka school), Hosso (the Dharma-lakṣaṇa school) and Ritsu (the Vinaya school). It would, however, be better to call these Buddhist institutions rather than religious sects.

(ii) *The period of nationalization.*—The second period of Japanese Buddhism began with the founding of two new sects, the Tendai and the Shingon, by Saicho (767—822 A.D.) and Kukai (774—835 A.D.), respectively. Their object was to nationalize Buddhist doctrines in order to make Buddhism a religion of the common people. At the same time, they aimed at disciplining the monks in Buddhist monasteries who kept aloof from the everyday world. The dominant feature of these two sects is that they laid stress not merely on spiritual salvation, but also on the fulfilment of the doctrine in this world.

By dint of the efforts of both the Tendai and the Shingon monks, Buddhism became nationalized and gradually gained in popularity. However, a number of problems remained to be solved. The doctrines were still too scholarly to be easily understood by the common people, who tended to accept only the superstitions attached to them. Furthermore, as the environment changed with the spread of Buddhism, it induced many people to give up this world in order to seek spiritual rest in the world beyond.

A new Buddhist movement arose in the 10th century A.D. in the form of belief in Amitābha Buddha. Many people were converted to this faith, and they simply recited the name of Amitābha Buddha with the object of being reborn in his Pure Land. This movement was followed by independent new sects which also emphasized belief in Amitābha. The new sects, which arose during the 12th and

13th centuries, were as follows: Yuzu-nenbutsu, founded by Ryonin (1072—1132 A.D.), Jodo, founded by Honen (1133—1212 A.D.), Jodo-shin, founded by Shinran (1173—1262 A.D.), and the Ji, founded by Ippen (1239—1289 A.D.). The factors common to these sects were to be found in the definition of laymanship and in the efforts to purify and simplify both doctrine and practice. Owing to these features, they were able to attract many followers from among the farmers, peasants and warriors.

The Kamakura period, during which these sects came into being, coincided with the rise of feudalism in Japan. It was also in this period that two new sects made their appearance. One was the Zen, introduced by Eisai (1141—1215 A.D.) and Dogen (1200—1253 A.D.), and the other was the Nichiren, founded by Nichiren (1222—1282 A.D.). These two sects also shared the same characteristics as those of the Pure Land sects mentioned above, although there was a remarkable contradiction in their principles. One believed in salvation through faith in the power of others, the underlying philosophy of Pure Land Buddhism, and the other in the doctrine of salvation through one's own enlightenment on which the Zen and the Nichiren sects are based. Zen Buddhism found its adherents mainly among the warriors, and influenced Japanese culture considerably.

The rise of these new sects resulted in the complete acceptance of Buddhism by the common people. The various stages of this process are so clearly demarcated that terms such as nationalization and popularization signify epoch-making landmarks in the history of Japanese Buddhism. For this reason, modern Japanese scholars are apt to draw special attention to the Kamakura period in which Buddhism was completely absorbed by Japan.

(iii) *The period of continuation.*—After the Kamakura period, there was no significant development in Japanese Buddhism other than the expansion of the various sects.

During the Edo period (1603—1867 A.D.), Buddhism acquired the character of a national religion in Japan under

the protection of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The chief reason for this development was that the Government hoped thereby to undermine the influence of Christianity upon the life of the Japanese people. In this period, Buddhism became popular, so that towards the close of this era Buddhist activities took the form of scholarly studies in Buddhism, which laid the foundation of modern Buddhist studies.

Having lost its protector after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 A.D., Buddhism faced the risk of being deprived of public support on account of the hostility of nationalistic Shintoism. Fortunately, this risk was obviated by the efforts of both monks and laymen. Furthermore, the Government guaranteed freedom of religion under the Constitution. At the same time, many monks who had investigated the doctrines of Buddhism scientifically tried to find a 'new' meaning in the 'old' doctrines. It may also be noted that some Buddhist missionaries went over to America, Hawaii, and other countries to propagate Buddhism in the light of modern studies in Buddhism.

Tibet (Central) and Ladakh

That the teachings of Buddhism, wherever they spread, were able to arouse a new historical consciousness in the people's minds is nowhere seen so vividly as in Tibet. Just as Indian history begins to be recorded in writing from the days of the great Buddhist emperor, Aśoka, Tibetan history, too, begins to be written down from the reign of Tibet's most gifted ruler, Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (born in 617 A.D.), who first conceived the idea of reducing spoken Tibetan to a system of alphabetic writing to facilitate the coming of Buddhism from India into his own country. Cultural contacts of Tibet with the Buddhist world surrounding her, namely, India, Khotan, Mongolia, China and Burma, must, however, have been established at least two centuries before him. According to a plausible Tibetan legend, for instance, some Buddhist missionaries from India had approached the

Tibetan King, Tho-tho-ri, with presents of Buddhist books, but had to return disappointed as none at the royal court could make out what they meant, since alphabetic script was unknown in Tibet! The precocious young prince, Sroṅ-btsan, suffering from a sense of isolation and inferiority, must have felt keenly the urge to find all possible ways of removing the backwardness of his people, because when he came to the throne he resolutely increased his military prestige to such an extent, that King Aṃśuvarman of Nepal in the South, and later the powerful Chinese emperor, T'ai-tsung, in the North, thought it wise to seek an alliance with him and respect his ardent wishes by giving their own royal princesses to him in marriage. These two queens, Bhrūkuṭi of Nepal and Wen-Ch'eng of China, bringing with them to Lhasa the images of Akṣobhya, Maitreya and Śākyamuni as gifts from their respective homes, greatly helped him achieve his ambition to bring his people to the forefront of civilization by introducing Buddhism into Tibet. In fact, before he contracted these marriages the king had taken steps to deserve such high matrimonial alliances. He had selected a brilliant Tibetan of his court, Thon-mi Sambho-ṭa, with sixteen other aspirants, to go down to the famous seats of learning in southern India to study Indian epigraphy, phonetics and grammar, and after having mastered these subjects to invent an alphabetic script for the Tibetan language, and establish its grammatical structure. Thon-mi fulfilled the task entrusted to him so well that besides composing eight independent treatises on Tibetan writing and grammar, he also prepared the first Tibetan translations of certain Sanskrit Buddhist works, so that he came to be recognized for all time as the father of Tibetan literature. During his lifetime Sroṅ-btsan promulgated laws to harmonize with the Ten Virtues prescribed by Buddhism. He built the famous temples of Ramoche and Jokhang in Lhasa, and the grand architecture of the eleven-storeyed palace, called the Potala, also preserves to this day the remains of an original smaller structure, begun by him,

in one of its lower apartments. Buddhism with some of its cultural advances and paraphernalia was thus brought to Tibet to replace the old animistic and Phön religious beliefs. The credit of ushering in a new Buddhistic era in the history of Tibet thus goes to the first great monarch of Tibet, Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, who was a contemporary of Muhammad, the founder of Islam, Emperor Harṣa of Kanauj and the famous pilgrim-scholar, Yuan Chwang of China.

Although Buddhism had come to Tibet under such favourable auspices, it did not take root in a foreign soil as easily or quickly as Sroṅ-btsan might have wished. It had to wage an incessant and arduous struggle for over three centuries against indigenous Phön beliefs. It had also to remove old superstitions, make compromises, adapt its own doctrines to the strange customs and traditions which had come down from time immemorial, and suffer setbacks and banishment until the days of Atiśa[1] in the eleventh century, when at last Buddhism may be said to have truly become the national religion of Tibet.

After Sroṅ-btsan, the establishment of Buddhism as a State religion occurred in the reign of his fifth successor, Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (755—797 A.D.), who, in spite of the opposition of his powerful Phön officials, was able to invite the learned Śāntarakṣita of Nalanda University to Tibet, to spread the genuine teachings of Indian Buddhism among his people and introduce regular conversions. Śāntarakṣita's eloquent sermons on the doctrines of the Ten Virtues and of the Chain of Causal Phenomena, however, fell upon deaf ears. Certain natural calamities like storms and epidemics, which raged at this juncture, were interpreted by his antagonists as being the result of his perverse teachings, and the King had to advise him to leave Tibet for some time to escape the anger and prejudice of the masses. The Indian teacher was wise enough to see that only a man well versed in the esoteric methods and beliefs of Tantrism could make some impression on the people, steeped as they seemed

1. Also written Atīśa.

she still retains after the lapse of more than two thousand years.

The Great Stūpa was built during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (101—77 B.C.) and consecrated before a large assembly of Buddhist monks who had come from well-known monasteries in India. The list of names, with other details, is given in the Mahāvaṃsa.

The reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (c. 29—17 B.C.) is an important landmark in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. Up to this time the sacred scriptures of Buddhism, as originally recited by Mahendra, were committed to memory and preserved as oral traditions. Arrangements were now made to commit them to writing, and five hundred reciters and scribes were employed for the purpose. The Pali Tripiṭaka, which was the result of their labour, still survives as the sacred canon of which the original disappeared long ago from India without leaving any trace.

It is impossible to overrate the influence exercised by Buddhism in Ceylon. Practically her whole culture and civilization were derived from it. Pali became the literary language of Ceylon and still holds that position. Ceylonese literature was an offshoot of Indian literature, and the art of Ceylon—architecture, sculpture and painting—was derived from India. The Ceylonese alphabet also came from India.

On the other hand, the Buddhist world owes a great debt to Ceylon. As mentioned above, the Pali Canon has been preserved in its entirety in this island and Ceylonese Buddhism had great influence upon Burma, Cambodia, Siam and Laos, the only other countries where Theravāda Buddhism flourishes today. Ceylon was not, however, merely a passive recipient; it contributed to the development of Buddhism through its Commentaries.[1]

Burma

According to the tradition preserved in the Ceylonese Chronicles, two Buddhist monks, named Soṇa and Uttara,

1. See Chapter IX.

were sent by Emperor Aśoka to preach Buddhism in Suvarṇa-bhūmi, which is generally identified with Burma. There is, however, no reliable evidence to show that Soṇa and Uttara were actually sent as missionaries by Asoka, and the location of Suvarṇa-bhūmi is also not beyond dispute. For, while some identify it with Burma, others place it in Siam or take it to denote, broadly, the whole of Indo-China.

Barring the story of Uttara and Soṇa there is no other evidence that Buddhism flourished in Burma before the fifth century A.D. Considering the close proximity of Burma to India, and the existence of not too difficult land routes between the two even before the Christian era, the possibility is not altogether excluded that Buddhism found its way to Burma even before, perhaps long before, the fifth century A.D. But from this period onwards there are definite records to prove not only the existence but also the flourishing state of Theravāda Buddhism in the old kingdom of the Pyus known as Śrīkṣetra with its capital near Prome, the ruins of which lie in modern Hmawza.

The archaeological remains at Hmawza, about five miles from modern Prome, and the Chinese accounts leave no doubt that the Theravāda form of Buddhism with Pali canonical texts was introduced in the region round Prome not later than the fifth century A.D. by Indian missionaries who came from the eastern coast of the Deccan and South India. But side by side we also find traces of Mūla-sarvāstivāda and Mahāyānism which probably came from eastern India.

There are good grounds for supposing that the Theravāda form of Buddhism also flourished among the Hinduized Mons or Talaings settled in Pegu (Haṃsavatī), Thaton (Sudhammavatī) and other neighbouring regions collectively known as Rāmañña-desa. Some time before the eleventh century A.D. Thaton became a very important centre of this religion. Earlier still, the Mrammas, a Tibeto-Dravidian tribe, had established a powerful kingdom with its capital at Pagan and given their name to the whole country. The

Mrammas were a rude, unlettered people, and a debased form of Tāntric Buddhism flourished among them. In 1044 A.D. a new king, Anawratha (Aniruddha), ascended the throne of Pagan and was converted to the pure Theravāda form by a Talaing monk of Thaton named Arhan, also known as Dharma-darśī. The new king, with the help of Arhan and a few other monks from Thaton, led a crusade against the debased religion and established Theravāda on a firm footing. There was, however, great need of canonical texts. Aniruddha sent messengers to Manuha, the king of Thaton, asking for complete copies of the Tripiṭaka. Manuha having refused, Aniruddha marched with his army and captured Thaton. He returned in triumph and brought back with him not only king Manuha captive, but all the monks, and the Buddhist scriptures and relics which were carried by thirty-two elephants. Never was a victor more completely captivated by the culture of the vanquished. The Burmese of Pagan adopted the religion, language, literature and script of the Mons. Aniruddha and his successors became the great champions of the Theravāda form of Buddhism, and along with their political authority it extended over the whole of Burma. The Brahmanical religion that had prevailed there gradually yielded to Buddhism, which even now flourishes over the whole country without any rival.

With the zeal of a new convert Aniruddha built numerous pagodas or temples and monasteries, and his example was followed by his successors. He also brought complete copies of the Tripiṭaka from Ceylon and Arhan collated these with the texts from Thaton. Aniruddha's son, Kyanzittha, followed in the footsteps of his father and built the famous Ānanda temple at Pagan.

An important episode in the history of Buddhism in Burma was the establishment in 1181-82 A.D. of a Siṃhalese order of monks founded by Capaṭa who received his ordination in Ceylon. The Ceylonese monks did not consider those of Burma as validly ordained and this feeling was shared by Capaṭa and his followers. The rivalry between

the Siṃhala Saṅgha and the Mramma Saṅgha continued for three centuries and ended in the final triumph of the former.

The Malay Peninsula

A large number of inscriptions discovered in different parts of the Malay Peninsula are written in Sanskrit and in the Indian alphabets of the fourth or fifth century A.D. At least three of these definitely refer to the Buddhist creed and thus prove the spread of Buddhism in that region. But the most important of all the remains are found at Nakhon Śrī Tammarāt (Ligor). It was an essentially Buddhist colony that constructed the great stūpa, which is still to be found there. Part of the fifty temples which surround the stūpa also probably belong to a very early period.

Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished in this region in the sixth century A.D., if not earlier. This is proved by an inscribed clay tablet found near Keddah which may be assigned to the sixth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. It contains three Sanskrit verses embodying some philosophical doctrines of the Mahāyāna school. Two of these three verses have been traced in the Chinese translations of a number of texts of the Mādhyamika school, and all the three are found together in a Chinese translation of the Sāgaramatiparipṛcchā[1] (Nanjio 976).

Mahāyāna Buddhism continued to flourish in this region till the 8th century A.D., possibly much later. An inscription found at Ligor refers to the construction of three brick temples for Buddhist gods and of five stūpas by the king and priests. The stūpas were built in the Śaka year 697 which is equivalent to 775 A.D.

Siam (Thailand)

Buddhism flourished in Siam, now called Thailand, from a very early period, about the first or second century A.D. if not earlier. This is proved by archaeological finds at Pong Tuk and Phra Pathom. Phra Pathom is about 30 miles

1. *JGIS*, Vol. VIII, p. 2.

west of Bangkok, and Pong Tuk lies about 20 miles farther to the west. Remains of a religious structure, the images of the Buddha, inscribed terra cottas and definite symbols of Buddhism like the dharmacakra, belonging probably to the first or second century A.D., have been found in these places.

To a somewhat later period belong the large number of ruined sanctuaries and some fine sculptures which indicate the strong influence of the Gupta period. These have been referred to the Dvārāvatī school. Dvārāvatī was a flourishing kingdom at the time of Yuan Chwang, *i.e.*, in the first half of the seventh century A.D.

About the eighth or ninth century A.D., both Siam and Laos formed part of Kambuja (Cambodia) politically and were influenced by the religious condition of that country. So both the Brahmanical religion and Buddhism can be found flourishing side by side in all these regions. About the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., the Thais made themselves masters of Siam and Laos and put an end to the political supremacy of the Cambodians over them. Under the influence of the Thai rulers, Buddhism of the Theravāda school and the Pali language flourished all over Siam and Laos. The Thai king, Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahā-Dharmikarājādhirāja was not only a great patron of Buddhism, but himself adopted the life of a Buddhist monk, preaching the doctrines of the Buddha all over his kingdom. About 1361 A.D., he sent some learned bhikkhus and scholars to Ceylon and induced the great monk called Mahāsāmī Saṅgharāja to come to Siam. Under his inspiration and the active efforts of the king, Buddhism and Pali literature not only obtained a firm footing, but also spread to a number of small Hinduized states in the territory now called Laos, such as Āḷavīrāṣṭra, Khmerrāṣṭra, Suvarṇagrāma, Unmārga-sila, Yonakarāṣṭra, and Haripuñjaya. Many of these still possess their local chronicles written in Pali. From this time onwards, Buddhism flourished in Siam and the neighbouring regions, and Brahmanism declined until it almost disappeared, leaving only a few traces in public

ceremonies and customs[1].

Kambuja (Cambodia)

The archæological finds and the Chinese Chronicles prove that from the end of the fifth century A.D. Buddhism flourished in Cambodia, though it did not occupy a dominant position, as it was less popular than some forms of Brahmanical religion like Śaivism. The great emperor, Yaśovarman, who ruled at the end of the ninth century A.D., established a Saugatāśrama which was specially meant for the Buddhist monks, and elaborate regulations were laid down for the guidance of this āśrama or hermitage.

King Jayavarman VII (1181—*circa* 1220 A.D.) was a devout Buddhist and received the posthumous title, Mahā-parama-saugata. The records of his reign express beautifully the typical Buddhist view of life, particularly the feelings of charity and compassion towards the whole universe. His role in the founding of religious institutions was magnificent.[2]

A Sanskrit inscription of Jayavarman VII gives us interesting information about the religious mood of his queen. It is said that when Jayavarman first went to

1. It is interesting to note here that although Siam was deeply influenced by Ceylon in respect of its religion, it repaid its debt in some measure when, about 1750 A.D., the king of Ceylon sent a messenger to the king of Siam and the latter sent golden and silver images of the Buddha, copies of sacred texts and a number of monks. It is clear that at that time Ceylon recognized Siam to be a country where Buddhism prevailed in a much purer form.

2. The account of royal donations contained in the Ta Prohm Inscription of Jayavarman VII makes interesting reading and reveals the magnitude of the resources and depth of religious sentiments of the king. It concerns the Rājavihāra, *i.e.*, the temple of Ta Prohm and its adjuncts where the king set up an image of his mother as Prajñā-pāramitā. It is not possible here to record all the details, but a few facts may be noted. Altogether 66,625 people were employed in the service of the deities of the temple and 3,400 villages were given for defraying its expenses. There were 439 professors and 970 scholars studying under them, making a total of 1,409 whose food and other daily necessities of life were supplied. There were altogether 566 groups of stone and 288 groups of brick houses. Needless to say, the other articles, of which a minute list is given, were in the same proportion,

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Campā, his wife, Jayarājadevī, showed her conjugal fidelity by undergoing austerities of diverse types and of long duration. She was then initiated to Buddhism by her elder sister. It is said that she performed a ceremony by which she could see before her the image of her absent husband. When her husband returned, she increased her pious and charitable works. These included a dramatic performance, the plot of which was drawn from the Jātakas and which was acted by a body of nuns recruited from among castaway girls.[1]

Buddhism continued to flourish in Kambuja in the thirteenth century A.D. It must be remembered, however, that up to this time, although Buddhism was in a flourishing condition, it was neither the State religion, nor even the dominant religious sect in the country. There is no definite information as to when Buddhism attained this position. But the change was undoubtedly due to the influence of the Thais of Siam, who, as already mentioned, were ardent Buddhists, and had conquered a large part of Cambodia. Whereas, in the earlier period, Siam was influenced by Cambodia, the role was now reversed, and Cambodia, under the influence of the Thais, was converted, almost wholesale, to Buddhism. Even the Brahmanical gods in the great sanctuaries like Angkor Vat were replaced by Buddhist images. We cannot trace the exact stages of this conversion, but, gradually, Buddhism became the dominant creed in Kambuja and today there is hardly any trace of Brahmanical religion in the country, except in some of the ceremonies and festivities of the people of Kambuja.

and they included huge quantities of gold and silver, 35 diamonds, 40,620 pearls and 4,540 other precious stones. All these relate to a single group of temples. And the inscription informs us that there were 798 temples and 102 hospitals in the whole kingdom, and these were given every year 117,200 *khārikās* of rice, each *khārikā* being equivalent to 3 maunds 8 seers. In conclusion, the king expresses the hope that by his pious donations, his mother might be delivered from the ocean of births (*bhavābdhi*). For the text of this inscription containing 145 Sanskrit verses, see *Kambuja Inscriptions* by R. C. Majumdar (published by The Asiatic Society, Calcutta), pp. 460 ff.

1. *Kambuja Inscriptions*, p. 517.

Campā (Viet-Nam)

The southern part of the territory lying on the eastern coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, called Annam, now Viet-Nam, was formerly known as Campā, a name evidently given to it by its Hindu colonists. That Buddhism had obtained a footing in the country before the third century A.D. may be inferred from the discovery of a fine bronze Buddha image of the Amarāvatī school which may be dated about that period. We learn from a Chinese chronicle that when the Chinese captured the capital city of Campā in 605 A.D., they carried away 1,350 Buddhist works. From this important statement, it can be inferred that Buddhism must have flourished in the country for a considerable period before the seventh century A.D. I-tsing remarks that in Campā the Buddhists generally belong to the Āryasammitīya school, and that there are a few followers of the Sarvāstivāda school also. This would mean the prevalence of the Śrāvakayāna sect, but it appears from inscriptions of the eighth century A.D. or thereabouts, that the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism was powerful in Campā, and possibly even the Tāntric forms, later offshoots of the Mahāyāna, also prevailed there. Occasionally, Buddhism enjoyed the patronage of kings and high officials and we have the ruins of a great Buddhist establishment at a place called Dong Duong, including a temple and a monastery built by King Jaya Indravarman in 875 A.D.

Buddhism of the Mahāyāna form continued as a living force in Campā right up to the fifteenth century A.D., when the country was overrun by the Annamites from the North. The Annamites formerly lived in Tonkin and derived their culture from China. So the Chinese form of Buddhism, along with Islam, replaced the old religion in Campā.

Indonesia

Buddhism had very little hold on the people of the island of Java at the beginning of the 5th century A.D. Fa-hien, who visited this island (c. 414 A.D.), observes

that while other forms of religion, particularly Brahmanism, flourished in this island, "Buddhism in it is not worth mentioning". But, thanks to the missionary zeal of Guṇavarman (an Indian monk)[1], Buddhism was not only introduced but obtained a stronghold on the island in less than a quarter of a century after Fa-hien's visit.

Buddhism was also introduced early in the island of Sumatra, particularly in the kingdom of Śrī-vijaya, which is usually identified with Palembang. It appears from some inscriptions found in this region that the king who ruled Śrī-vijāya in the years 683—684 A.D. was a Buddhist. The famous Chinese traveller, I-tsing, who visited India in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D., says that the king of Śrī-vijaya, as well as the rulers of neighbouring states, favoured Buddhism, and that Śrī-vijaya was a very important centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of southern Asia. The Buddhist priests in Śrī-vijaya numbered more than a thousand and they studied all the subjects as in Madhyadeśa (India). I-tsing spent some time in Śrī-vijaya in order to study Buddhist scriptures and he has left a very interesting account of the popularity of Buddhism in the islands of the Southern Sea, consisting of more than ten countries. He gives a list of these ten countries and states that "Buddhism is embraced in all these and other smaller islands, and mostly the system of the Hinayāna is adopted except in Malayu (Śrī-vijaya) where there are a few who belong to the Mahāyāna".

The importance of Indonesia as a great centre of Buddhism from the seventh till the eleventh century A.D. is

1. Guṇavarman belonged to a royal family of India and, taking to the religious life of a Buddhist monk, he visited the island of Java. At first the Queen Mother was converted to Buddhism and, gradually, the king and the people adopted the religion. It is said that on one occasion Java was attacked by a hostile king and the king asked Guṇavarman whether it would be against Buddhist law if he offered battle. Guṇavarman told the king that it was his duty to fight the enemy. The king now wished to take to the life of a monk, but was dissuaded by his ministers. The result was that the Buddhist religion spread throughout the kingdom.

also proved by other facts. Dharmapāla, a famous professor of Nalanda University, visited Suvarṇa-dvīpa, which was a general designation of Indonesia, in the seventh century A.D. The famous monk and scholar Atiśa Dīpaṅkara (11th century A.D.), who became the head of Vikramaśīlā University and inaugurated the second period of Buddhism in Tibet, went in his early life to Suvarṇa-dvīpa in order to study Buddhism under the guidance of its High Priest, Candrakīrti. A strong impetus to the Mahāyanā was given by the Śailendra dynasty, who ruled over the Malay Peninsula and a large part of Indonesia. The Sailendra kings were great patrons of this form of Buddhism and erected monumental structures like Borobudur, Kalasan and Mendut in Java. It appears from epigraphic records that one of the Śailendra kings had a guru (preceptor) from the Gauḍa country (Bengal). There is hardly any doubt that the Pāla kings of Bengal and the Coḷa rulers of the South exercised great influence upon Java in religious matters during the Śailendra period. The Śailendra kings established monasteries at Nalanda and Nāgapaṭṭinam and the Pāla and the Coḷa emperors granted villages for their maintenance. Under the influence of the Śailendras, Mahāyānism flourished in Java and Sumatra for a long period. But the influence of Bengal seems also to have been responsible for the introduction of the debased Tāntric forms of Buddhism both in Java and Sumatra. We have a fairly detailed account of some later kings of both these countries who were followers of these cults. We have also two important Mahāyāna texts, *viz.*, the *Sang hyang Kamahayanan Mantranaya* and the *Sang hyang Kamahayanikan*,[1]

1. The first work consists of Sanskrit verses with a Javanese translation, while the second consists of a somewhat free Javanese version of a Sanskrit original mixed with a number of original Sanskrit verses. The second text gives a detailed exposition of the sacred principles of Māhayāna, but the first gives the picture of a more popular but degraded form of Mahāyāna. Its title *Mantranaya* is probably another form of Mantrayāna. In any case, it is really an exposition of the Tantrayāna or Vajrayāna, both in its theoretical

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which give us a fair insight into the leading conceptions of Mahāyānism in Java.

Besides Sumatra and Java, we have positive evidence of the introduction of Buddhism in the other islands of Malayasia, particularly Bali and Borneo. The Brahmanical religion, however, dominated and Buddhism gradually disappeared in these regions.

and practical aspects, and explicitly refers to the five kinds of sensual enjoyment (kāma-pañcakan) which no doubt refer to pañca-makāra. There exists a fairly detailed account of King Kṛtanagara of Java (1254—1292 A.D.) who was passionately devoted to this degraded form of Buddhism.

CHAPTER VI

Principal Schools and Sects of Buddhism

A. In India

It appears that even during the lifetime of the Buddha there were people who would not accept his authority. His cousin, Devadatta, out of jealousy for the Buddha conspired with King Ajātaśatru and made several attempts on his life. He also tried to create divisions in the Buddhist Saṅgha by demanding stricter conditions of life for Buddhist monks, such as living throughout the year under trees, foregoing meat and fish, and refusing all invitations from faithful adherents. There were also monks like Upananda, Channa, Mettiya-Bhummajaka, or Ṣaḍvargīya (Pali: Chabbaggiya) who would take the earliest opportunity of transgressing the rules of the Vinaya. Besides, there is a perverse tendency among some people to oppose a rule simply because a rule has been laid down. Some like to live a life of ease and comfort and consequently all restrictions on individual freedom are looked at askance. For example, Subhadra, on hearing of the death of the Buddha, gave a sigh of relief saying that he would now no longer have to abide by "do this, do not do that".

When the Buddha died, he left no one to take his place as the supreme authority. In fact he told his personal attendant, Ānanda, that the Dharma and the Vinaya would be the supreme authority in the future. All statements claimed to have been made by learned monks or the Saṅgha or even the Buddha himself have to be tested by direct reference to the words of the Buddha recorded in the suttas and the Vinaya.

When the first recital (saṅgīti) of the Buddhist texts was made under the presidency of Mahākāśyapa at Rājagṛha by five hundred monks, there were some, like Purāṇa, or, according to Tibetan sources, Gavāmpati, who did not approve them as they felt that what was recorded there was not in agreement with what they had heard from the Buddha himself. Common interests arising from personal attachment to certain persons or groups of persons, or created by various causes, such as associations, studies, geographical regions, as well as honest differences of opinion that gathered strength in the course of time, probably led to the formation of different sects or schools.

The Buddha's sayings and their commentaries were handed down orally from teachers to disciples. Unlike the Vedic texts, however, not enough care was taken for the preservation of the actual words of the Teacher, not to speak of their interpretations. In the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, the Teacher apprehended that his sayings might suffer distortion, and so, as noted above, he cautioned his disciples about the four ways in which his instructions were to be verified. A century is a long time, and about a hundred years after his passing, differences arose among the monks about the actual words of the Teacher and their interpretations. Once the monks took the liberty of bringing dissensions to the Saṅgha, they went on multiplying till the number of sects reached the figure of eighteen in the second and third centuries after the Buddha's death. The first dissension was created by the Vajjian monks of Vaisali. It is stated in the Vinaya (Cullavagga) and in the Ceylonese Chronicles that the Second Council was held at Vaisali a century after the Buddha's parinirvāṇa to discuss the breach of the ten rules of discipline (dasa vatthūni) by the Vajjian monks.[1]

In the Tibetan and Chinese translations of Vasumitra and others quite a different account appears. Here the Council is said to have been convened on account of the differences of opinion among the monks regarding the five

1. See Chapter IV, pp. 41-42.

dogmas propounded by Mahādeva.

Mahādeva was the son of a brāhmaṇa of Mathura and was 'a man of great learning and wisdom'. He received his ordination at Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭaliputra and then became the head of the Saṅgha which was patronized by the king. His five dogmas were:

(i) An Arhat may commit a sin by unconscious temptation.
(ii) One may be an Arhat and not know it.
(iii) An Arhat may have doubts on matters of doctrine.
(iv) One cannot attain Arhatship without a teacher.
(v) 'The noble ways' may begin by a shout, that is, one meditating seriously on religion may make such an exclamation as 'How sad! How sad!' and by so doing attain progress towards perfection[1]—the path is attained by an exclamation of astonishment.

Traditions differ as to why the Second Council was called. All the accounts, however, record unanimously that a schism did take place about a century after the Buddha's parinirvāṇa because of the efforts made by some monks for the relaxation of the stringent rules observed by the orthodox monks. The monks who deviated from the rules were later called the Mahāsaṅghikas, while the orthodox monks were distinguished as the Theravādins (Sthaviravādins). It was rather 'a division between the conservative and the liberal, the hierarchic and the democratic'. There is no room for doubt that the Council marked the evolution of new schools of thought.

The decision of the Council was in favour of the orthodox monks. The Vajjians refused to obey the decision of the majority and were expelled from the Saṅgha. In consequence, the Council came to an abrupt close, and the long-feared schism came into being, threatening the solidarity of the Saṅgha. The monks who could not subscribe to the

1. *Cf.* Kathā-vatthu, II, 1-4 and XI, 4.

orthodox views convened another Council, in which ten thousand monks participated. Indeed, it was a great congregation of monks (Mahāsaṅgīti), for which they were called the Mahāsaṅghikas, as distinguished from the orthodox monks, the Theravādins (Sthaviravādins). S. Beal writes, "and because in the assembly both common folk and holy personages were mixed together, it was called the assembly of the great congregation".[1] All the seceders unanimously agreed to abide by the historic decision of their council. They were convinced that their decision was in conformity with the teachings of the Great Master and claimed more orthodoxy than the Theravādins. Thus occurred the first schism in the Saṅgha which accounted for the origin of the two sects—the Theravāda (Sthaviravāda) and the Mahāsaṅghika—in the early Buddhist Saṅgha. This split went on widening and in the course of time several sects came into existence out of those two primitive schools.

In the history of the succession of schools, it is found that the first schism in the Saṅgha was followed by a series of schisms leading to the formation of different sub-sects, and in the course of time eleven such sub-sects arose out of the Theravāda while seven issued from the Mahāsaṅghikas. Later, there appeared other sub-sects also. All these branches appeared one after another in close succession within three or four hundred years after the Buddha's parinirvāṇa.

There are different authorities, such as the traditions of the Theravādins, Sāmmitīyas, Mahāsaṅghikas, and subsequently the Tibetan and Chinese translations which give us accounts of the origin of the different schools. Although these traditions are not unanimous about the latter, a French scholar, M. André Bareau, has recently arrived at a fairly correct conclusion, on the basis of the information available in different traditions,[2] which is represented in the table given on the next page.

It is not possible here to give an account of all the

1. *Records of the Western Countries*, Vol. II, p. 164.
2. *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, (Saigon, 1955.).

different schools. Only a few important ones among these will therefore be considered.

The Sthaviravādins or the Theravādins

The earliest available teaching of the Buddha to be found in Pali literature belongs to the school of the Theravādins, who may be called the most orthodox school of Buddhism. This school admits the human nature of the Buddha and he is often represented as having human foibles, though he is recognized as possessing certain superhuman qualities. He is described in some passages as Devātideva, still, as in the Cātumā-sutta[1], he is impatient with some of his bhikṣus whom he dismisses for making a noise like undisciplined folk, such as fishermen in a fish market. He is also subject to human weaknesses when he says that he is eighty years old and that he has a pain in his back: *piṭṭhi me āgilāyati.*[2]

The teaching of the Buddha according to this school is very simple. He asks us to 'abstain from all kinds of evil, to accumulate all that is good and to purify our mind'. These things can be accomplished by the practice of what are called śīla, samādhi, and prajñā. These have been explained in detail. Śīla or good conduct is the very basis of all progress in human life. An ordinary householder must abstain from murder, theft, falsehood, wrong sexual behaviour and all intoxicating drinks. If he becomes a monk, he must live a life of celibacy, observe the remaining four rules of good conduct for the householder and further refrain from using garlands or decorating his person; he must avoid soft seats and beds, must not use gold or silver, nor watch dancing, nor attend concerts or unseemly shows, nor eat after midday. Sometimes good conduct is also described as refraining from the evil ways of life (daśa akuśala-karmapatha), *i.e.,* murder, theft and sexual misbehaviour; falsehood, slander, harsh words and vain garrulous talk; greed, ill-will and wrong philosophical views. Samādhi,

1. Majjhima, No. 67.
2. The Sekha-sutta, Majjhima, No. 53.

meditation, is to be attained by means of one or other of the forty objects of meditation. The purpose of this meditation is to keep one's mind perfectly balanced so that it may be possible to gain a proper insight into the real nature of things. This is done by cultivating insight (prajñā). The cultivation of prajñā helps one to understand at one and the same time the Four Noble Truths and the Law of Dependent Origination,[1] which tries to explain the phenomenon of life by showing the interrelation of life with the one that precedes and the one that follows. Karma, the actions of an individual, regulates all life, and the whole universe is bound by it, so that karma is like the axle of a rolling chariot.

The philosophy of this school is also very simple. All worldly phenomena are subject to three characteristics—they are anitya, or impermanent and transient; duḥkha, or full of sufferings; and anātma, that is, there is nothing in them which can be called one's own, nothing substantial, nothing permanent. All compound things are made up of two elements—nāma, the non-material part, and rūpa, the material part. They are further described as consisting of nothing but five constituent groups (skandhas), namely, rūpa, the material quality, and four non-material qualities—sensation (vedanā), perception (sañjñā), mental formatives (saṃskāra), and lastly consciousness (vijñāna). These elements are also classified into twelve organs and objects of sense (āyatanāni) and eighteen dhātus. The former consist of the six internal organs of sense—the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body and the mind (which is, from the Buddhist point of view, also an organ) and the corresponding objects of sense, namely, material objects, sounds, smells, tastes, tangibles and those things that can be apprehended only by the mind (dharmāyatana). In the latter classification, one must add six consciousnesses to the list of twelve āyatanas, *i.e.*, eye-consciousness, ear-consciousness, nose-consciousness, tongue-consciousness, body-consciousness and mind-con-

1. These have been explained briefly in Chapter III, pp. 31-32.

sciousness and thus arrive at eighteen dhātus. Hence, this most orthodox school of Buddhism has a pluralistic conception of the constituent elements of the universe. The number of the constituents increases gradually from two to five, then to twelve, and finally to eighteen. This number, as will be seen later, increases still further in the case of other schools. At the Council of Pāṭaliputra, the teachings of this school were, according to Pali sources, certified to be those of the Vibhajyavāda school.

In the Abhidhammaṭṭha-saṅgaha, a later manual (about 8th—12th centuries A.D.) of the psycho-ethical philosophy of this school, Anuruddhācārya, the author, gives the following as the four ultimate categories: consciousness (citta), mental properties (caitasika), material qualities (rūpa), and nirvāṇa. Consciousness is further classified into eighty-nine types (a hundred and twenty-one types according to another classification), mental properties into fifty-two, and material qualities into twenty-eight. Nirvāṇa is a happy state which is free from passion, ill-will and delusion; in reality it is a state which is beyond description.

When an individual thus understands the true nature of things, he tries to renounce worldly life since he finds nothing substantial in it. He avoids both indulgence in the pleasures of the senses and self-mortification, follows the Middle Path (Madhyamā-pratipat), and moulds his life according to the Noble Eightfold Path which consists of Right View, Right Resolve, Right Words, Right Actions, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Concentration.[1] He realizes that all worldly suffering is due to craving or hankering (tṛṣṇā) and that it is possible for him to bring his suffering to an end by following the Noble Eightfold Path. When he reaches that perfect state of dispassionateness, nirvāṇa, he becomes a 'worthy man', an Arhat. The life of an Arhat is the ideal of the followers of this school, 'a life where all (future) birth is at an end, where the holy life is fully achieved, where all that had to be done has been done,

1. See Chapter III, pp. 32-33.

and there is no more return to worldly life'.[1]

The Mahīśāsakas

The confusion regarding this school among various authorities is largely due to the fact that there were two groups of this school which were prominent at two different periods. According to Pali sources, this school along with the Vajjiputtakas branched off from the Sthaviravādins and gave rise to the Sarvāstivādins, while Vasumitra tells us that this school was derived from the Sarvāstivādins. The earlier Mahīśāsakas may probably be traced back to Purāṇa, who, as mentioned earlier,[2] withheld his consent to the decisions arrived at at the first Council of Rājagṛha. This school, it appears, also spread to Ceylon. In an introductory stanza of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā it is said that the author was persuaded to write it by Buddhadeva, a friend born in the Mahīśāsaka tradition. Like the Theravādins, the earlier Mahīśāsakas believed in the simultaneous comprehension of truths. For them the past and the future did not exist, while the present and the nine asaṃskṛta dharmas did. These nine asaṃskṛta dharmas were: (1) pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha, cessation through knowledge; (2) apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha, cessation without knowledge, *i.e.*, through the natural cessation of the causes; (3) ākāśa, space; (4) āneñjatā, immovability; (5) kuśala-dharma-tathatā; (6) akuśala-dharma-tathatā, and (7) avyakṛta-dharma-tathatā, that is, suchness of the dharmas that are meritorious, unmeritorious and neither the one, nor the other; (8) mārgāṅga tathatā; and (9) pratītya-samutpāda-tathatā, or suchness of the factors of the Path and suchness of the Law of Dependent Origination. The last corresponds with that in the list of the Mahāsaṅghikas.

The Mahīśāsakas believed, like the Theravādins, that the Arhats were not subject to retrogression. However, they held that those who were in the first stage, srotāpannas, were sub-

1. *Khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ, nāparaṃ itthattāyā ti.*

2. See p. 98.

ject to such retrogression. No deva or god could lead a holy life, nor a heretic attain miraculous powers. There was no antarā-bhava, or interim existence between this life and the next. The Saṅgha included the Buddha and therefore charities given to the former were more meritorious than those given to the Buddha only. Of the eight factors of the Noble Eightfold Path, Right Speech, Right Action and Right Livelihood were not to be considered real factors since they were not mental actions. These were therefore to be excluded from the factors of the Noble Path.

It is interesting to note that the later Mahīśāsakas held views contrary to those held by the earlier followers of the sect. Like the Sarvāstivādins, they believed in the existence of the past, the future and antarā-bhava, and held that the skandhas, the āyatanas and the dhātus always existed in the form of seeds.

The Sarvāstivādins

Among the Buddhist schools which adopted Sanskrit for their literary medium, the Sarvāstivādins come closest to the Sthaviravādins. With the decline of the Sthaviravādins in India this school bore the brunt of the battle against the Mahāyānists. Ācārya Vasubandhu, the writer of the Abhidharma-kośa, was a great champion of this school before he was converted to Mahāyānism under the influence of his brother Asaṅga. This school flourished in India in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Provinces (now in Pakistan) and Kaniṣka (1st century A.D.) was its great patron. It was in his reign that a Council was held which became famous in the history of Buddhism. It is said that at this Council, held under Vasumitra's guidance, the Buddhist texts of the Sūtra, the Vinaya and the Abhidharma were ordered to be engraved on sheets of copper and deposited inside a stūpa. However, these engraved sheets have not yet been traced.

The belief that all things exist, *sarvam asti*, advocated by

this school perhaps goes back to the Saṃyutta-nikāya[1] where the expression, *sabbham atthi*, occurs. It is this belief that has given the school its name. With the Sthaviravādins, the Sarvāstivādins were the realists among the Buddhists. They believed that it was not only the things in the present that existed, but also the things in the past and future which were in continuity with the present. Like the Vātsiputrīyas, the Sāmmitīyas and some of the Mahāsaṅghikas, they revolted against the dominance of the Arhats who had attained a position of unsurpassed eminence among the Sthaviravādins. They maintained that an Arhat was subject to fall or retrogression, while, curiously enough, they maintained at the same time that a srotāpanna, or an individual in the first stage, was not liable to such retrogression. They also said that a continuous flow of mind might amount to concentration (samādhi) of mind. This school, like the Sthaviravādins, denied the transcendent powers ascribed to the Buddha and the Bodhisattva by the Mahāsaṅghikas. It was their faith that holy life was possible for gods and that even heretics could have supernatural powers. They believed in antarā-bhava, an interim existence between this life and the next. They maintained that the Bodhisattvas were still ordinary people (pṛthag-jana) and that even the Arhats were not free from the effects of past actions and still had something to learn.

They believed in nairātmya, the absence of any permanent substance in an individual, though they admitted the permanent reality of all things. Like the Sthaviravādins, they believed in the plurality of elements in the universe. According to them, there were seventy-five elements, seventy-two of them saṃskṛta, compounded, and three asaṃskṛta, uncompounded, which were ākāśa or space, pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha, or cessation through knowledge, and apratisaṅkhyā-nirodha, or cessation, not through knowledge, but through the natural process of the absence of required conditions. The seventy-two saṃskṛta dharmas were divided into four

1. S. iv, 15; also *cf.* M, i, 3.

groups: rūpa, or matter which was held to be of eleven kinds, including one called avijñapti-rūpa, unmanifested action in the form of a mental impress; citta, mind, forty-six mental concomitants (citta-samprayukta dharmas) and fourteen dharmas which were not connected with mind (citta-viprayukta), the last being a new class of forces which were not classed as mental or material, although they could not be active without a mental or material basis. These seventy-five elements were linked together by casual relations, six of which were dominant (hetu) and four subsidiary (pratyaya). According to some the followers of this school were also called the Hetuvādins.

The Haimavatas

The very name suggests that the Haimavata school was originally located in the Himalayan regions. Vasumitra, in his book on the Eighteen Sects, calls the Haimavatas the inheritors of the Sthaviravādins, but other authorities like Bhavya and Vinītadeva look upon this school as a branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas. Like the Sarvāstivādins, the Haimavatas believed that the Bodhisattvas had no special eminence, but unlike them, they said that the gods could not live the holy life of brahmacarya and that heretics could not have miraculous powers.

The Vātsiputrīyas

The Vātsiputrīyas, with whom the sub-sect of the Sāmmitīyas has been identified, are singled out among the Buddhists on account of their advocacy of the theory of the pudgala, the permanent substance of an individual. This school took its stand on passages in sacred texts which contain the word pudgala and contended that, without the existence of such a pudgala, rebirth could not be contemplated. Vasubandhu in his Abhidharma-kośa tried, in a special chapter at the end of the book, to refute this view. The pudgala, according to the Vātsiputrīyas, was neither the same, nor different from the skandhas. Like the

Sarvāstivādins, they believed that an Arhat could fall and that heretics could also attain miraculous powers. A god, according to their sub-sect, the Sāmmitīyas, could not practise the holy life. They also believed in antarā-bhava, and, like the followers of the Abhidharma, believed in a stage between the first and second trance of the Sautrāntikas, where vitarka, the first application of thought, disappears, but vicāra, or continued reflection, remains. Like the Mahīśāsakas, they believed in the five factors of the Noble Path. It is said that during the reign of Harṣa, this school was patronized by his sister, Rājyaśrī. The followers of this school were sometimes called Avantika, the residents of Avantī.

The Dharmaguptikas

The Dharmaguptikas broke away from the Mahīśāsakas with whom they differed on points dealing with gifts to the Buddha or to the Saṅgha. This school proffered gifts to the Buddha and greatly revered the stūpas of the Buddha as is clear from their rules of the Vinaya. Like the Mahīśāsakas, they believed that an Arhat was free from passion and that heretics could not gain supernatural powers.

This school was popular in Central Asia and China, and had its own Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma literature. The rules of its distinctive Prātimokṣa were followed in the monasteries of China.

The Kāśyapīyas

The Kāśyapīyas differed on minor points from the Sarvāstivādins and the Dharmaguptikas and were closer to the Sthaviravādins. Hence they are also called the Sthāvarīyas. Tibetan sources refer to them as Suvarṣaka. The Kāśyapīyas believed that the past which has borne fruit ceases to exist, but that which has not yet ripened continues to exist, thus partially modifying the position of the Sarvāstivādins, for whom the past also exists like the present. The Kāśyapīyas are sometimes represented as having

effected a compromise between the Sarvāstivādins and the Vibhajyavādins and also claim a Tripiṭaka of their own.

The Sautrāntikas or the Saṅkrāntivādins

According to Pali sources the school of the Saṅkrāntivādins is derived from the Kāśyapīyas and the school of the Sautrāntikas from that of the Saṅkrāntivādins, while according to Vasumitra the two are identical. As the very name suggests, this school believed in saṅkrānti, or the transmigration of a substance from one life to another. According to its followers, of the five skandhas of an individual, there is only one subtle skandha which transmigrates, as against the whole of the pudgala of the Sāmmitīyas. This subtle skandha according to the Kāśyapīya school is the real pudgala. The latter is the same as the subtle consciousness which permeates the whole body according to the Mahāsaṅghikas, and is identical with the ālaya-vijñāna of the Yogicārins. It is possible that this school borrowed its doctrine of subtle consciousness from the Mahāsaṅghikas and lent it to the Yogācāra school. It also believed that every man had in him the potentiality of becoming a Buddha, a doctrine of the Mahāyānists. On account of such views, this school is considered to be a bridge between the Śrāvakayāna (often, though not justifiably, called the Hīnayāna) and the Mahāyāna.

The Mahāsaṅghikas

It is universally believed that the Mahāsaṅghikas were the earliest seceders, and the forerunners of the Mahāyāna. They took up the cause of their new sect with zeal and enthusiasm and in a few decades grew remarkably in power and popularity. They adapted the existing rules of the Vinaya to their doctrine and introduced new ones, thus revolutionizing the Buddhist Saṅgha. Moreover, they made alterations in the arrangement and interpretation of the Sūtra and the Vinaya texts. They also canonized a good number of sūtras, which they claimed to be the sayings of the Buddha.

They rejected certain portions of the canon which had been accepted in the First Council, and did not recognize, as the Buddha's sayings, the Parivāra, the Abhidhamma, the Paṭisaṃbhidā, the Niddesa and parts of the Jātaka. The Parivāra is an appendix to the Vinaya and is probably the composition of a Siṃhalese monk. The Abhidhamma was compiled in the Third Council held under the patronage of King Aśoka. The Paṭisaṃbhidā, the Niddesa and a part of the Jātaka are not accepted as the Buddhavacana even today. Opinion differs as to their authenticity as canonical texts, since these works were compositions of a later period. All these texts are therefore additional and are not included in the canonical collection of the Mahāsanghikas. Thus they compiled afresh the texts of the Dhamma and the Vinaya and included those texts which had been rejected in Mahākassapa's Council. Thus arose a twofold division in the Canon. The compilation of the Mahāsaṅghikas was designated the Ācariyavāda as distinguished from Theravāda, compiled at the First Council.

Yuan Chwang records that the Mahāsaṅghikas had a complete canon of their own which they divided into five parts, *viz.*, the Sūtra, the Vinaya, the Abhidharma, the Dhāraṇīs and Miscellaneous.[1] The Vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghikas, according to Yuan Chwang, was the same as that compiled at Mahākassapa's Council. He writes that he studied the treatises of the Abhidhamma with two monks at Dhanakaṭaka in the South. He carried 657 Sanskrit works from India back to China and translated them into Chinese under the orders of the Emperor. Among them were fifteen Mahāsaṅghika works on the Sūtra, the Vinaya and the Abhidharma. Still earlier, Fa-hien had taken away a complete transcript of the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghikas from Pāṭaliputra to render into Chinese. Nanjio's Catalogue furnishes us with the names of the two Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya texts, the Bhikṣu-vinaya and the Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya,

1. Watters, *On the Travels of Yuan Chuang*, Vol. II, p. 160 ; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 4.

which are extant in Chinese only The only original work of the Mahāsaṅghika sect available to us is the Mahāvastu, or the Mahāvastu-avadāna. It is the first book of the Vinaya-piṭaka of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsaṅghika school. According to it, the Buddhas are lokottara (supramundane) and are connected only externally with the worldly life. This conception of the Buddha contributed much to the growth of the Mahāyāna philosophy. The biography of the Buddha is the central theme of the Mahāvastu and it gives us the history of the formation of the Saṅgha and the first conversions. It is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit or a mixed Indian dialect allied to Sanskrit. The work was probably composed between the 2nd century B.C. and the 4th century A.D.

Inscriptions provide further evidence of the existence of the Mahāsaṅghika canon. In the Amarāvatī inscriptions, for instance, terms like Vinaya-dhara, Mahāvinaya-dhara and Saṃyukta-bhāṇaka, have been used for monks and nuns. Similarly, the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription bears the words Dīgha-majjhima-paṃcamātuka-osaka-vācakānaṃ, Dīgha-majjhima-nikāya-dharena, and so on. From all this evidence it may be concluded that the canon of the Mahāsaṅghikas was in existence at least as early as the first century A.D.

According to Vinītadeva (8th century A.D.), the Mahāsaṅghikas employed Prakrit for their literary medium. Buston tells us that the canon of the Mahāsaṅghikas was written in Prakrit.[1] Csoma Körös states that the 'sūtra on emancipation' of the Mahāsaṅghikas was written in a corrupt dialect.[2] Wassiljew holds that the literature of this school was in Prakrit.[3] The Mahāvastu, as already observed, is in mixed Sanskrit, by which is meant a variety of Prakrit. There is therefore no room for doubt that the literature of this school was in Prakrit.

1. Bu-ston, Vol. II, p. 100.
2. *J.A.S.B*, 1838, p. 134.
3. *Der Buddhismus*, pp. 294, 295.

During the second century after the Buddha's death, the Mahāsaṅghika sect was split up into Ekavyāhārika[1], Lokottaravāda, Kukkuṭika (Gokulika), Bahuśrutīya and Prajñptivāda and shortly afterwards appeared the Śaila schools. The Caityakas were so called because of their cult of the caityas (shrines). Both of them paved the way for the growth of Mahāyānism. The Śailas derived their name from the hills located round the principal centres of their activity. They were also called the Andhakas in the Ceylonese Chronicles on account of their great popularity in the Andhra country. The Pali commentary, however, mentions that 'both the Cetiyavādin (Caityavādin) and the Andhaka schools were merely names, remote, provincial, standing for certain doctrines'. Among the sections into which the Mahāsaṅghikas were divided, the Caityakas and the Śaila schools were the most prominent and had great influence in the South.

In their early career the Mahāsaṅghikas could not make much headway because of the strong opposition of the orthodox monks, the Theravādins (Sthaviravādins). They had to struggle hard to establish themselves in Magadha; but they steadily gained in strength and became a powerful sect. This is borne out by the fact that the sect established centres at Pāṭaliputra and Vaisali and spread its network to both the North and the South. Yuan Chwang tells us that 'the majority of inferior brethren at Pāṭaliputra began the Mahāsaṅghika school'. I-tsing (671—695 A.D.) also states that he found the Mahāsaṅghikas in Magadha (central India), a few in Lāṭa and Sindhu (western India) and a few in northern, southern and eastern India. The inscription on the Mathura Lion Capital (120 B.C.) records that a teacher named Budhila was given a gift so that he might teach the Mahāsaṅghikas. This is the earliest epigraphic evidence that the Mahāsaṅghika sect existed. The Wardak vase in Afghanistan containing the relics of the Buddha was presented to the teachers of the Mahāsaṅghikas by one Kamalagulya

1. Often styled Ekavyavahārika.

during the reign of Huviṣka. At Andarah (Afghanistan) Yuan Chwang found three monasteries belonging to this sect, which proves that this sect was popular in the North-West. The cave at Karle in Bombay Presidency records the gift of a village as also of a nine-celled hall to the adherents of the school of the Mahāsaṅghikas. Clearly, the Mahāsaṅghikas had a centre at Karle and exercised influence over the people of the West. However, they were not confined to Magadha alone but spread over the northern and western parts of India and had adherents scattered all over the country. Nevertheless, this was not true of the branches of this sect which were concentrated only in the South. The inscriptions at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa mention the Hamghi (Ayira-haghāna), the Caityika (Cetiavādaka), the Mahāvanaseliyāna (Apara-mahāvanaseliya), the Puvasele, the Rājagiri-nivāsikā (Rājaśaila), the Siddhathikā, the Bahuśrutīya and the Mahīśāsaka sects. Most of these were local and, barring the last mentioned, all were branches of the Mahāsaṅghika sect. The Amarāvatī stūpa is situated about 18 miles west of Bezwada. The stūpa was probably constructed in the 2nd century B.C. Its outer rail was erected in the 2nd century A.D. and the sculptures in the inner rail are supposed to belong to the 3rd century A.D. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa represents, next to Amarāvatī, the most important Buddhist site in southern India. We owe the monuments of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa to the piety of certain queens and princesses of the royal family of the Ikṣvākus who were devoted to Buddhism. These monuments may be assigned to the 3rd or the 4th century A.D., although the Mahācetiya is probably of an earlier date. These structures at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa obviously flourished as important centres of the branches of the Mahāsaṅghika sect and became places of pilgrimage. It is thus apparent that the Mahāsaṅghikas extended their activities both towards the North and the South. However, they gained more influence in the South, particularly in the Guntur and Krishna districts where the popularity of the Caityakas and the Śaila sub-sects contri-

buted much to their success. The name Andhaka also testifies to the great popularity of the Śailas in Andhra.

The general doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghikas with all their branches are contained in the Kathā-vatthu, the Mahāvastu and the works of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva. The Bahuśrutīyas and the Caityakas were later offshoots of the Mahāsaṅghika sect and differed somewhat from the original Mahāsaṅghikas in their views.

The Mahāsaṅghikas, like the Theravādins, accepted the cardinal principles of Buddhism, and were, in this regard, not different from them. The fundamentals are the four noble truths, the eightfold path, the non-existence of the soul, the theory of karma, the theory of pratītya-samutpāda, the thirty-seven Bodhipakṣīya-dharmas, and the gradual stages of spiritual advancement. According to them the Buddhas are lokottara (supramundane); they have no sāsrava dharmas (defiled elements); their bodies, their length of life and their powers are unlimited; they neither sleep nor dream; they are self-possessed and always in a state of samādhi (meditation); they do not preach by name; they understand everything in a moment (ekakṣaṇika-citta); until they attain parinirvāṇa, the Buddhas possess kṣayajñāna (knowledge of decay) and anutpādajñāna (knowledge of non-origination). In short, everything concerning the Buddhas is transcendental. The Mahāsaṅghika conception of the Buddhas contributed to the growth of the later Trikāya theory in Mahāyāna. Thus the Mahāsaṅghikas conceived of the Buddha docetically and gave rise to the conception of the Bodhisattvas. According to them, the Bodhisattvas are also supramundane, and do not pass through the four embryonic stages of ordinary beings. They enter their mothers' wombs in the form of white elephants and come out of the wombs on the right side. They never experience feelings of lust (kāma), malevolence (vyāpāda) or injury (vihiṃsā). For the benefit of all classes of sentient beings, they are born of their own free will in any form of existence they choose. All these conceptions led to the deification of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. A section of

the Mahāsaṅghikas, (the adherents of Mahādeva, maintains that Arhats also have frailties; that they can be taught by others; that they still have a degree of ignorance, and a degree of doubt; and that they can acquire knowledge only with the help of others. Thus, Arhathood is not the final stage of sanctification.

The other main beliefs of the Mahāsaṅghikas are as follows:

(i) The five vijñānas (sense-perceptions) conduce both to sarāga (attachment to worldly matters) and virāga (non-attachment to the same state).

(ii) The rūpendriyas (organs of sense are mere flesh. They themselves cannot perceive the vijñānas of the organs.

(iii) One can eliminate suffering and obtain the highest bliss (nirvāṇa) through knowledge (prajñā).

(iv) A srotāpanna (one who has entered the path of sanctification) is liable to retrogress while an Arhat is not.[1] He is capable of knowing his own nature (svabhāva) through his citta and caitasika dharmas. He is also liable to commit all kinds of offences except the five heinous crimes (pañcānantaryāṇi), namely, matricide, patricide, the murder of an Arhat, shedding the blood of the Buddha and creating a split in the Saṅgha.

(v) Nothing is indeterminate (avyākṛta), *i.e.*, the nature of things must be either good or bad for it cannot be neither good nor bad.

(vi) The original nature of the mind is pure; it becomes contaminated when it is stained by upakleśa (passions) and āgantukarajas (adventitious defilements).

1. This view seems to be held by only a section of the Mahāsaṅghikas, for we are told that another section, and the Mahādevas in particular, held exactly the opposite viewpoint, *i.e.*, that an Arhat is liable to fall and that a srotāpanna is not. See Kvu. XXI, 3 and its commentary, p. 35; also N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Vol. II. pp. 64-65.

[This view of the Mahāsaṅghikas may be considered the precursor of the idealistic philosophy of Yogācāra, in which the ālayavijñāna is the storehouse of pure consciousness which becomes impure only when it is polluted by worldly objects.]

(vii) After death and before rebirth a being has no existence.

Thus the Mahāsaṅghikas differ considerably from other sects in doctrinal matters as well as in their rules of discipline. The followers of the school wore a yellow robe,[1] the lower part of which was pulled tightly to the left.[2]

The Bahuśrutīyas

The Bahuśrutīya school is mentioned in the inscriptions at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and is a later branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas. It owes its origin to a teacher who was very learned in Buddhist lore (bahuśrutīya).

As for the fundamental doctrines of the Bahuśrutīyas, they maintained that the teachings of the Buddha concerning anityatā (transitoriness), duḥkha (suffering), śūnya (the absence of all attributes), anātman (the non-existence of the soul) and nirvāṇa (the final bliss) were lokottara (transcendental), since they led to emancipation. His other teachings were laukika (mundane). On this point the Bahuśrutīyas may be regarded as the precursors of the later Mahāyāna teachers. According to them, there was no mode which led to salvation (nirvāṇika). Further, the Saṅgha was not subject to worldly laws. They also accepted the five propositions of Mahādeva as their views. In some doctrinal matters they had a great deal in common with the Śaila schools, while in others they were closely allied to the Sarvāstivādins.

According to Paramārtha, this sub-sect made an attempt

1. See 'Introduction to the History of Early Buddhist Schools' by R. Kimura in *Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*, Vol. III, Oriental, pt. 3, p. 126.

2. Takakusu, *I-tsing*, pp. 66-67.

to reconcile the two principal systems of Buddhism—the Śrāvakayāna and the Mahāyāna. Harivarman's Satyasiddhi-śāstra is the principal treatise of this school.

The Bahuśrutīyas are often described as 'a bridge between the orthodox and the Mahāyāna school', as they tried to combine the teachings of both. Harivarman believed in ātma-nairātmya (the absence of soul in individuals) and in dharma-nairātmya (the soullessness of all things). Like the followers of the orthodox schools, he believed in the plurality of the universe which, according to him, contained eighty-four elements. Like the Mahāyānists, he maintained that there were two kinds of truth—conventional (saṃvṛti) and absolute (paramārtha). He further maintained that, from the point of view of conventional truth, ātmā or the classification of the universe into eighty-four elements existed, but, from the point of view of absolute truth, neither existed. From the point of view of absolute truth there is a total void (sarva-śūnya). He believed in the theory of Buddha-kāya as well as of dharma-kāya, which he explains as consisting of good conduct (śīla), concentration (samādhi), insight (prajñā), deliverance (vimukti) and knowledge of and insight into deliverance (vimukti-jñāna-darśana). Although he did not recognize the absolute transcendental nature of the Buddha, he still believed in the special powers of the Buddha, such as the ten powers (daśa balāni), and the four kinds of confidence (vaiśāradya) which are admitted even by the Sthaviravādins. He believed that only the present was real, while the past and the future had no existence.

The Caityakas

The Caityavāda school originated with the teacher Mahādeva towards the close of the second century after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. He is to be distinguished from the Mahādeva who was responsible for the origin of the Mahāsaṅghikas. He was a learned and diligent ascetic who received his ordination in the Mahāsaṅghika Saṅgha. He professed the five points of the Mahāsaṅgh-

ikas, and started a new Saṅgha. Since he dwelt on the mountain where there was a caitya, the name Caityaka was given to his adherents. Furthermore, this name is also mentioned in the Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions. It may be noted here that Caityavāda was the source of the Śaila schools.

Generally speaking, the Caityakas shared the fundamental doctrines of the original Mahāsaṅghikas, but differed from them in minor details. The doctrines specially attributed to the Caityaka school are as follows:

(i) One can acquire great merit by the creation, decoration and worship of caityas; even a circumambulation of caityas engenders merit.

(ii) Offerings of flowers, garlands and scents to caityas are likewise meritorious.

(iii) By making gifts one can acquire religious merit. and one can also transfer such merit to one's friends and relatives for their happiness—a conception quite unknown in primitive Buddhism but common in Mahāyānism. These articles of faith made Buddhism popular among the laity.

(iv) The Buddhas are free from attachment, ill-will and delusion (jita-rāga-dosa-moha), and possessed of finer elements (dhātuvara-parigahita). They are superior to the Arhats by virtue of the acquisition of ten powers (balas).

(v) A person having samyak-dṛṣṭi (the right view) is not free from hatred (dveṣa) and, as such, not free from the danger of committing the sin of murder.

(vi) Nirvāṇa is a positive, faultless state (amata-dhātu).

It is thus apparent that the doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots contain germs from which the later Mahāyāna doctrine developed. They were the first school to deify the Buddha and the Bodhisattva, which ultimately led to the complete deification of the Buddha and the

Bodhisattva in Mahāyāna, and to the consequent popularity of the religion among the masses. Their conception of Sambhogakāya led to the Trikāya theory which is one of the prominent features of Mahāyāna. The worship of caityas and the making of gifts advocated by the branches of the Mahāsaṅghika school was to a large extent responsible for the evolution of the popular form of Buddhism. The Mahāsaṅghikas can, therefore, be said to be the precursors of the Mahāyāna movement, through which Buddhism came to attract more people than it would otherwise have done.

The commentary on the Kathā-vatthu mentions a few more schools, namely the Rājagirika, the Siddhatthaka, the Pubbaseliya, the Aparaseliya, the Vājiriya, the Uttarāpatha, the Vetulya and the Hetuvādins. The first four are known by the general name of Andhakas. About Vājiriya there is little information to be had. The Uttarāpathakas prevailed in the North and in the north-western countries including Afghanistan. They are credited with the doctrine of Tathatā which, as will be clear later, was a peculiarity of the Mahāyānists. This school maintained that even the excreta of the Buddhas was fragrant. They maintained that there was only one path and not four as maintained by the orthodox schools, and that even laymen could become Arhats. The Vetulyakas or the Mahāśūnyatāvādins maintained that the Buddha or the Saṅgha had no real existence, but were merely abstract ideas. They are also credited with the view, which seems to be influenced by the Tāntric schools, that sex relations may be entered upon out of compassion, even in the case of recluses. The Hetuvādins are, as already observed, identified by some with the Sarvāstivādins, while the Kathā-vatthu commentary considers them to be a distinct school and ascribes to them the view that insight is not meant for men of the world and that happiness may be handed on by one man to another.

Inscriptions of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. indicate, among others, the presence of the Sarvāstivādins, the Mahāsaṅghikas, the Caityakas, the Sāmmitīyas, the Dharmottarī-

yas, the Bhadrayānīyas, the Mahīśāsakas, the Pūrvaśailīyas, the Aparaśailīyas, the Bahuśrutīyas, and the Kāsyapīyas. The accounts of the travels of Yuan Chwang and I-tsing in the 7th century A.D. give us detailed information about the number of monasteries that existed and about their inmates who belonged to various Buddhist schools. In I-tsing's account there are references to specific sects belonging to the orthodox or Śrāvakayāna and the Reformed Church, but it is also clear that, broadly speaking, the Buddhist community was divided into two main groups, the old Orthodox Church or Śrāvakayāna and the later Reformed Church or Mahāyāna.

The Mādhyamika School

Mahāyāna Buddhism is divided into two systems of thought: the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra.

The Mādhyamikas were so called on account of the emphasis they laid on madhyamā-pratipat (the middle view). In his first sermon at Banaras, the Buddha preached the Middle Path, which is neither self-mortification nor a life devoted to the pleasures of the senses. However, the middle path, as advocated by the adherents of the Mādhyamika system, is not quite the same. Here, the middle path stands foi the non-acceptance of the two views concerning existence and non-existence, eternity and non-eternity, self and non-self, and so on. In short, it advocates neither the theory of reality nor that of the unreality of the world, but merely of relativity. It is, however, to be noted that the middle path propounded at Banaras has an ethical meaning, while that of the Mādhyamikas is a metaphysical concept.

The Mādhyamika school is said to have originated with the teacher, Nāgārjuna or Ārya Nāgārjuna (2nd century A.D.). He was followed by a galaxy of Mādhyamika thinkers, such as Āryadeva (3rd century A.D.), Buddhapālita (5th century A.D.), Bhāvaviveka (5th century A.D.), Candrakīrti (6th century A.D.) and Śāntideva (7th century A.D.). Nāgārjuna wrote a number of works of which the

Mādhyamika-kārikā is regarded as his masterpiece. It presents in a systematic manner the philosophy of the Mādhyamika school. It teaches that śūnyatā (the indescribable absolute) is the absolute. There is no difference between saṃsāra (phenomenal world) and nirvāṇa or śūnyatā (reality). Śūnyatā or the absolute corresponds to the nirguṇa Brahmaṇ of the Upaniṣads. In the invocation in verse at the beginning of the work, Nāgārjuna gives the fundamentals of his philosophy in a nutshell. He describes Pratītya-samutpāda (Dependent Origination) by means of eight negatives. 'There is neither origination nor cessation, neither permanence nor impermanence, neither unity nor diversity, neither coming-in nor going-out, in the law of Pratītya-samutpāda. Essentially, there is only non-origination which is equated with śūnyatā. Elsewhere he also states that Pratītya-samutpāda is called śūnyatā. Hence śūnyatā, referring as it does to non-origination, is in reality the middle path which avoids the two basic views of existence and non-existence. Śūnyatā is the relative existence of things, or a kind of relativity. Prof. Radhakrishnan writes:[1] 'By śūnyatā, therefore, the Mādhyamika does not mean absolute non-being, but relative being.' The Mādhyamika view holds śūnyatā to be the central idea of its philosophy and is therefore designated the śūnyavāda. The Mādhyamika-kārikā further deals with two kinds of truths: saṃvṛti (conventional or empirical truth) and paramārtha (higher or transcendental truth). The former refers to ignorance or delusion which envelops reality and gives a false impression, while the latter is the realization that worldly things are non-existent like an illusion or an echo. Paramārtha-satya (transcendental truth) cannot be attained without resorting to saṃvṛti-satya (conventional truth). Saṃvṛti-satya (conventional truth) is only a means, while paramārtha-satya (transcendental truth) is the end. Thus, viewed from the relative standpoint (saṃvṛti), Pratītya-samutpāda explains worldly phenomena, but looked at from the abso-

1. *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 661.

lute standpoint (paramārtha), it means non-origination at all times and is equated with nirvāṇa or śūnyatā.

Towards the beginning of the 5th century A.D., the Mādhyamika was divided into two schools of thought: the Prāsaṅgika school and the Svātantra school. The Prāsaṅgika school uses the method of *reductio ad absurdum* to establish its theses, while the Svātantra school employs independent reasoning. The former was founded by Buddhapālita and the latter by Bhāvaviveka.

A study of the Mādhyamika works reveals that dialectic is the core of Mādhyamika philosophy.

It may be mentioned that the T'ien-t'ai and San-lun sects of China advocated the doctrine of śūnyatā and were thus a continuation of the Indian Mādhyamika system. The Sanron sect in Japan also followed this system.

The Yogācāra School

The Yogācāra school is another important branch of the Mahāyāna, and was founded by Maitreya, or Maitreyanātha (3rd century A.D.). Asaṅga (4th century A.D.), Vasubandhu (4th century A.D.), Sthiramati (5th century A.D.), Dinnāga (5th century A.D.), Dharmapāla (7th century A.D.), Dharmakīrti (7th century A.D.), Śāntarakṣita (8th century A.D.) and Kamalaśīla (8th century A.D.) were noted teachers of this school. They continued the work of the founder by their writings and raised the school to a high level. The school reached the acme of its power and influence in the days of Asaṅga and his brother, Vasubandhu. The appellation Yogācāra was given by Asaṅga while the term Vijñānavāda was used by Vasubandhu.

The Yogācāra was so called because it emphasized the practice of yoga (meditation) as the most effective method for the attainment of the highest truth (bodhi). All the ten stages of spiritual progress (daśa bhūmi) of Bodhisattvahood had to be passed through before bodhi could be attained. The school is also known as the Vijñānavāda on account of the fact that it holds Vijñāptimātra (nothing but conscious-

ness) to be the ultimate reality. In short, it teaches subjective idealism, or that thought alone is real. The "Yogācāra brings out the practical side of philosophy, while Vijñānavāda brings out its speculative features." The Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, an important work of this school, maintains that only the mind (cittamātra) is real, while external objects are not. They are unreal like dreams, mirages and "sky-flowers". Cittamātra, in this case is different from ālayavijñāna which is the repository of consciousness underlying the subject-object duality. The ālayavijñāna is also the womb of the Tathāgata (Tathāgata-garbha). Vasubandhu's Vijñāptimātratā-siddhi is the basic work of this system. It repudiates all belief in the reality of the objective world, maintaining that citta (cittamātra) or vijñāna (vijñānamātra) is the only reality, while the ālayavijñāna contains the seeds of phenomena, both subjective and objective. Like flowing water ālayavijñāna is a constantly changing stream of consciousness. With the realization of Buddhahood, its course stops at once. According to Sthiramati, the commentator on Vasubandhu's works, ālaya contains the seeds of all dharmas including those which produce impurities. In other words, all dharmas exist in ālayavijñāna in a potential state. The Yogācārins further state that an adept should comprehend pudgala-nairātmya (the non-existence of self) and dharma-nairātmya (the non-existence of the things of the world). Pudgala-nairātmya is realized through the removal of passions (kleśāvaraṇa), and dharma-nairātmya by the removal of the veil that covers true knowledge (jñeyāvaraṇa), *i.e.*, by means of true knowledge. Both these nairātmyas (non-substantiality) are necessary for the attainment of emancipation.

The Yogācāra recognizes three degrees of knowledge: parikalpita (illusory), paratantra (empirical), and pariniṣpanna (absolute). Parikalpita is the false attribution of an imaginary idea to an object produced by its cause and conditions. It exists only in one's imagination and does not correspond to reality. Paratantra is the knowledge of an object pro-

duced by its cause and conditions. This is relative knowledge and serves the practical purposes of life. Parinişpanna is the highest truth or tathatā, the absolute. Parikalpita and paratantra correspond to saṃvṛti-satya (relative truth), and parinişpanna to paramārtha-satya (highest truth) of the Mādhyamika system. Thus the Yogācāra has three varieties of knowledge for two of the Mādhyamika.

The Yogācāra differs from the Mādhyamika only in that it attributes qualities to reality. The former holds that reality is pure consciousness (vijñānamātra), while the latter believes it is śūnyatā.

B. In Northern Countries

Tibet and Nepal

The account of the Buddhist sects in Tibet and Nepal has been dealt with in a previous chapter,[1] as part of the account on the expansion of Buddhism in those countries, and need not be repeated.

China

It is said that the Indians arrived in 217 B.C. at the capital of China in Shen-si to propagate their religion. About the year 122 B.C., a golden statue was brought to the Emperor and, according to the Chinese Chronicle, this was the first statue of the Buddha to be brought to China for worship.

In the year 61 (or 62) A.D., the Emperor Ming-ti sent an embassy to India to collect Buddhist canons and to invite monks to come to China. A native of central India, named Kāśyapa Mātaṅga, went to China with them, and translated a small but important sūtra, Forty-two Sections. According to the Chinese Chronicle, he died at Lo-yang.

Early in the fourth century, the Chinese people began to adopt Buddhist monastic rituals. In the year 335 A.D., for instance, a prince of the Ch'au Kingdom, in the reign of the Eastern Ts'in dynasty, allowed his attendants to keep Bud-

1. See Chapter V, pp. 73-84.

dhist observances. In this period, a number of monasteries were established in northern China, and nine-tenths of the people were said to have embraced Buddhism.

Between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D., famous scholars like Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang came to India and returned to China with a number of Buddhist texts, which were worshipped alike by high and low. Some Indian scholars, too, went to China at the request of Chinese emperors. Among the latter may be mentioned Kumārajīva, Bodhidharma and Paramārtha. With Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, they became the founders of the various schools of Chinese Buddhism.

When Buddhism first came to China there was no specialized school of any kind, but gradually the Chinese Buddhists became acquainted with different kinds of Buddhism and the various practices associated with them. As the Buddhist faith spread in China, its sub-divisions also spread throughout the country from the North to the South. Orthodox Buddhism thus steadily became heterodox and came to acquire characteristics of its own.

The Ch'an (Dhyāna) School

Bodhidharma evolved a system of his own according to which the human being could attain Buddhahood only through a consciousness of the identity of both the relative and the absolute.

Bodhidharma came to China about 470 A.D. and became the founder of esoteric schools which came to be divided into five principal branches. The esoteric schools are called *dan* or *ch'an* (Skt. dhyāna, Jap. zen) in the modern pronunciation. Bodhidharma was said to be the third royal son who came either from South India or Persia. It is also said that he had practised meditation against the wall of the Shao-lin-ssu monastery for nine years. The followers of Bodhidharma were active everywhere, and were completely victorious over the native religions with the result that the teachings of the esoteric schools have come to be highly

prized even in modern Japan.

It is natural that Bodhidharma, although a founder of the esoteric schools, should have based his own upon the philosophy of Nāgārjuna, the most important teacher of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Nāgārjuna founded the Mādhyamika school of philosophy, which reduces everything to śūnyatā (non-substantiality), and thus established the Madhyamā Pratipad (the Middle Way). His philosophy influenced Kau Hwei-wen, who had studied the śāstra Ta-chi-tu-lun, and adopted the conception of concentration upon the Middle Way (Chung-kwan). On the basis of the ideas of Kau Hwei-wen, Tu Hwei-yang and Lieu Hing-si established the Nan-ngo and Ts'ing-yuen schools.

According to these schools, to look inwards and not to look outwards is the only way to achieve enlightenment, which to the human mind is ultimately the same as Buddhahood. In this system, the emphasis is upon 'intuition', its peculiarity being that it has no words in which to express itself, no method to reason itself out, no extended demonstration of its own truth in a logically convincing manner. If it expresses itself at all, it does so in symbols and images. In the course of time this system developed its philosophy of intuition to such a degree that it remains unique to this day.

Besides the Ch'an-Buddhism (Dhyāna Buddhism), it may be worth summarizing the different sub-divisions of Buddhism which, with the exception of the Tien-t'ai sect, have declined and are no longer active.

The Vinaya School

The Vinaya School is based upon the Vinaya of the sacred books, which were compiled at the Council held after the Buddha's death. The founder of this school in India was Upāli (Yeu-po-li; U-P-Li in old Chinese, Jap. Upali), one of the ten chief disciples of the Buddha. He is known as the author of Si-pu-luh. He preached the doctrine of the Discipline of Four Divisions. It was Tao Hsuan who established this school as a sect in the 7th century A.D. This school is

also called Hing-si-fang-fei-chi-ngo, or Nan-shan, and was popular in Nanking at that time. Its priests wear black and believe in the protection of oneself against errors.

The Tantra School

The founder of the Tantra school (the secret teaching of Yoga) is called Shan-Wu-Wei (Subhākara). It was recognized as a sect in Japan. About the year 720 A.D. Tantrism was introduced into China by Shan-Wu-Wei (Subhākara) and Kin-kang-chi (Vajramati). Shan-Wu-Wei was said to be a king of Orissa in eastern India.

Yoga means "to concentrate the mind", and has also come to mean "containing the secret doctrines". This sect, which taught the magic observances in Buddhist practices, has another name, 'Yoga-mi-kiau'. At one time, this school was so prosperous that the Pan-Jo-tsung (Prajñā school) and Ssu-lun-tsung (Four Mādhyamika Treatises school) were absorbed in it.

The Vijñānavāda School

This school, which devoted itself to the study of the śastra Wei-shi-lun (Nanjio, Nos. 1215, 1240) and other works of its kind, is called Wei-shi-siang-kiau. The authors of these books were Wu-cho and T'ien-ts'in, who had an excellent disciple in Kiai-hien, an Indian living at the monastery at Nalanda. It may be observed that this Indian established this school and contributed much to the arrangement of the Buddhist canons. Yuan Chwang, to whom Kiai-hien handed over the śāstra, founded this school in his native land, China. The school is also called Fa-siang-tsung and was led by Yuan Chwang's disciple, Kwei-ki.

The Sukhāvativyūha School

The Sukhāvativyūha or the Pure Land sect was founded in China by Tan-lan (Jap. Donlan) in the reign of the Than dynasty (7th century A.D.). According to the doctrine of this sect, the Western heaven is the residence of the Amita

Buddha (Amitāyur Buddha). This sect bases its belief on the formula that salvation is to be attained "through absolute faith in another's power", and lays emphasis on the repetition of the formula, *Namo'mitābha-Buddhāya* (Glory be to Amita Buddha), which is regarded as a meritorious act on the part of the believer. The repetition of the formula is looked upon as the expression of a grateful heart. This belief was also introduced into Japan and has been revived in a modified form. In China the third patriarch of this school was Shan-tao (Jap. Zendo) in the seventh century A.D. He preached the doctrine of the Pure Land sect for more than thirty years, teaching the humble people to believe in salvation through Amita Buddha.

The Pure Land sect of Shan-tao was introduced into Japan where it has obtained a firm footing and is a living religion today.

The main texts of this school are the Aparimitāyus-sūtra (No. 27), the Sukhāvatyamṛtavyūha-sūtra (No. 200) and the Buddhabhāṣitāmitāyurbuddhadhyāna-sūtra (No. 198).

The Avataṃsaka School

The Buddhist sect founded by Fa-shun is called Fa-sing-tsung, meaning "the school of the true nature" of the Buddhist canons. It concentrates on the Hwa-yen-sūtra (the Avataṃsaka-sūtra No. 87). Fa-tsan, the third patriarch of the Hwa-yen or the Avataṃsaka school, built up the sect and when he died in 643 (or 699—712) A.D. was honoured with the title, Hien-sheu-ta-shi.

Seven works are ascribed to him. Among these are Hwa-yen-yi-shan-ciao-i-fan-tshi-can, a treatise on the distinction of the meaning of the doctrine of one vehicle, ekayāna, of the Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra (No. 1591)[1] Hwa-yen-cin-min-fa-phin-nei-li-san-pao-can (No. 1592), and Hwa-yen-cin-shi-tsz'-can-yun-cien-lei-cie (No. 1602). The Avataṃsaka school is one of the most important sects in China and, like the T'ien-

1. This and the following numbers refer to those in Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka.

t'ai, is representative of the genuine philosophy of Chinese Buddhism.

The Mādhyamika School

The San-lun-tsung (or the Three Mādhyamika Treatises school) is divided into two groups. The first follows the tradition from Nāgārjuna to Kumārajīva; and the second the tradition from Chi-tsang (549—623 A.D.), a disciple of Kumārajīva, to the time of its decline (8th century A.D.). The first tradition is called the "old" and the second the "new" San-lun-tsung. The main texts of this school consist of Chun-lun (the Mādhyamika-śāstra, No. 1179), Pai-lun (the Śata-śāstra, No. 1188) and Shih-erh-men-lun (the Dvadaśanikāya-śāstra, No. 1186), which, in the opinion of Chi-tsang, constitutes the San-lun literature of Chinese Mādhyamika Buddhism.

The San-lun-tsung was a Buddhist sect which expressed the Mādhyamika doctrine according to absolute truth (paramārtha-satya, Chen-ti). Besides this sect, there were others which laid emphasis on different aspects of Mādhyamika philosophy. The texts of these sects are Ta-chin-tu-lun (the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra, No. 1169), Shih-chu-phi-pho-sha-lun (the Daśabhūmivibhāṣā-śāstra, No. 1180) and other texts together with the main texts already mentioned. The groups which embrace Mādhyamika Buddhism are Si-lun-tsung, Panjo-tsung, and Hsing-tsung, in which the San-lun-tsung and Hwa-yen-tsung are also included. These schools stress the doctrine of saṃvṛti-satya (conventional truth), according to which "all beings are conditioned and merely interrelated, but do not come into existence in the absolute sense". The practical aspect of the Mādhyamika philosophy was expressed by these schools in their approach to human life.

Although these schools contributed to the cultural development of ancient China for eight centuries, today they are only objects of historical, textual and philosophical study. They no longer exist as religious institutions in China except in the modified form of Tibetan Lamaism.

The T'ien-t'ai School

Now to turn to the T'ien-t'ai, the only living Buddhist school in China today. The Buddhist school founded by Chi-k'ai is called T'ien-t'ai-tsung, after Mount Tien-t'ai, where Chi-k'ai died (597 A.D.) in his sixty-seventh year in the reign of the Souei dynasty. It is said that in his early life, Chi-k'ai followed the teachings of the school established by Bodhidharma. Afterwards he grew tired of this system, and initiated a new branch of Buddhism, the main texts of which are Miao-fa-lien-hwa-chin (the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, No. 134), Ta-ci-tu-lun (the Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtra-śāstra, No. 1169), Nei-phan-chin (the Mahā-nirvāṇa-sūtra, No. 113) and Ta-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-to-chin (the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra, No. 1).

Chi-k'ai established a threefold system of comprehension which is called Chi-kwan, or 'perfected comprehension'. This system consists of three comprehensions, namely, 'empty' (k'ung), 'hypothetical' (kia) and 'medial' (chung). These three modes of comprehending beings are like the three eyes of the God Maheśvara. The 'empty' mode destroys the illusion of sensuous perception and constructs supreme knowledge (prajñā). The 'hypothetical' mode does away with the defilement of the world, and establishes salvation from all evils. Lastly, the 'medial' mode destroys hallucination arising from ignorance (avidyā), and establishes the enlightened mind. The system of threefold observation is based on the philosophy of Nāgārjuna, who lived in south-eastern India about the second century A.D.

These Buddhist schools in China had their origin in Indian Buddhism, but the ceaseless study of the Buddhist texts by the Chinese schools resulted in completely new religious experiences which seem to have grown out of the historical background of China rather than of India. Although this development was possible through the introduction of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism, its theories were interpreted in a characteristic Chinese way with its respect for Chinese tradition. The Chinese interpreted the Indian

texts in consonance with the traditional pattern that they had inherited from their ancestors.

Japan

The Buddhist sects in Japan are said to be thirteen in number. They are the Kegon (the Avataṃsaka school), the Ritsu (the Vinaya school), the Hosso (the Dharma-lakṣaṇa school), the Tendai, the Shingon (Tāntric Buddhism), the Jodo, the Jodo-shin, the Yuzunenbutsu, the Ji, the Rinzai, the Soto, the Obaku, and the Nichiren sects. Besides these, there were three others, namely, the Sanron (the Three-śāstra school of Mādhyamika), the Kusha (the Abhidharma-kośa school) and the Jojitsu (the Satyasiddhi-śāstra school), but they are more or less extinct and have little independent influence.

Most of the Buddhist sects in Japan, it may be noted, originally came from China. The Kegon, the Ritsu and the Hosso have retained their Chinese character while the others are local creations and have been completely re-modelled. The chief features of the latter sects are briefly discussed in the following pages.

The Tendai Sect

The Tendai sect was founded in Japan in 804 A.D. by Saicho, who was better known as Dengyo-Daishi. He entered the Order young and went for further study to China, where he received instruction in the Dharma from teachers at the famous T'ien-t'ai school. On his return to Japan, he propagated the new doctrine in the temple called Enryakuji on Mount Hiei. This temple soon grew to be an important centre of all Buddhist studies and practices in Japan. It is important to note that not a few of the founders and scholars of the other sects were associated with this temple as students. Though an offshoot of the Chinese T'ien-t'ai, the Tendai sect absorbed the ideas and principles of other doctrines such as Tāntric Buddhism, and those of the Dhyāna and the Vinaya schools.

It differs from the Chinese T'ien-t'ai in its practical approach, though both base themselves essentially on the Mahāyāna text, the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, laying stress on the Ekayāna theory. Saicho also introduced a practical method called Kwanjin (intuition of the mind).

The Shingon Sect

The founder of this sect in Japan was Kukai (also known as Kobo Daishi) who was a younger contemporary of Saicho. An ascetic, a traveller, and a famous calligrapher and sculptor, Kukai was a versatile figure and a remarkable scholar. Inspired by Saicho's example, he went to China in 804 A.D., and studied the esoteric Shingon doctrine as a disciple of the Chinese priest, Houei-Kouo. On his return to Japan he established the most widely known monastery of the Shingon sect on the mountain of Koya-san.

The doctrine of the Shingon sect is based mainly upon the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the other Tāntric sūtras. The cult is essentially one of magical or mystical practices as found in the Tāntric Buddhism of Tibet. The name Shingon comes from the Sanskrit *mantra,* meaning sacred formula. According to the doctrine of this sect, enlightenment can be attained through the recitation of a *mantra* or Dhāraṇī.

The Shingon sect is now the only sect in Japan which has retained the Tāntric ideals. However, by following a well formulated line of development, it was able to avoid the degeneration which was the fate of the Tāntric Buddhists of India and Tibet.

Pure Land Buddhism

This comprises the Jodo, the Jodo-shin, the Yuzunenbutsu and the Ji sects. The essential doctrine of these sects is that salvation can be attained only through absolute trust in the saving power of Amitābha. The followers of this faith recite the name of Amitābha, longing to be re-

born in his paradise through his grace.

The Jodo sect was founded in Japan in 1175 by Genku. He was a renowned saint and is better known as Honen. His doctrine was based largely upon that of Shan-tao (613 — 681 A.D.), one of the most famous teachers of the Amitābha school in China. He selected the Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtras (both the larger and the smaller editions) and the Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra as canonical texts, teaching the benefits of faith in the Amitābha Buddha. His principal belief was that it was Amitābha who had willed that every one should, after death, be born in his paradise called Sukhāvatī. Hence it was by believing in Amitābha that one could, at the end of life, gain access to the pure land of one's desire. The system, being a simple one, is suited to the common people. Nenbutsu or the recitation of the name of Amitābha Buddha is a natural practice among the followers of this faith, but the emphasis is on the belief rather than on practical recitation. None the less, Nenbutsu should not be considered to be of secondary importance. It is held that even those who are too preoccupied with their affairs to go deeply into the doctrines of Buddhism will be born in the heaven of Amitābha if they have implicit faith in his name. Honen's teachings found great favour among the masses and the Jodo sect thus became one of the most influential in Japan.

The teachings of the Jodo-shin sect, founded by Shinran introduced several important reforms in the Jodo sect. According to Shinran, all living beings shall be saved on account of the vow taken by Amitābha. Hence, the recitation of the name of the Buddha, as also other practices in ordinary life, are but the expression of a grateful heart.

Shinran introduced several important reforms in the organization of the church, the object of which was to remove the division between the clergy and the laity. He did not recognize any difference between the two occupations. All human beings are equally capable of being

reborn in the pure land of the Buddha. "There were to be no masters or disciples. All were to be friends and brothers before the Buddha." Shinran, as others belonging to this sect, led an ordinary life among the people and considered himself not a preceptor, but merely a follower of Amitābha's way.

Because of Shinran's liberal outlook, the Shin sect rapidly became popular among the people, especially among the farmers and the peasants. The religious freedom which his followers learnt from him impelled them to seek political and social freedom which found expression in several revolts of the farmers against their feudal lords in the 16th century A.D.

The Uzunenbutsu sect was founded by Ryonin (1072—1132 A.D.) and the Ji sect by Ippen (1239—1289 A.D.). These sects had no significant influence in Japan. The doctrine of Ryonin was influenced by the Kegon philosophy and that of Ippen by Zen Buddhism.

Zen Buddhism

The word *Zen* comes from *zena* (Chinese: Chan) which is a transcription of the Sanskrit *dhyāna*, meaning contemplation.

Zen Buddhism has three branches in Japan, namely, the Rinzai, the Soto, and the Obaku. The first group was founded in Japan by the Japanese monk, Eisai (1141—1215 A.D.), the second by Dogen (1200—1253 A.D.) and the third by a Chinese monk called Igen, about 1653 A.D. Eisai and Dogen spent several years studying in China.

The essence of Zen Buddhism is summed up as follows: "Look into the mind and you will find Buddhahood." This sect lays great stress on meditation or contemplation which alone can lead one to enlightenment.

We now turn to the doctrine of Dogen, which is one of the most important and representative features of Zen Buddhism.

Dogen started life as a monk seeking an answer to the

question: "Why did so many Buddhas practise the way of self-enlightenment, although all living beings, by their very nature, already had Buddhahood in them." As nobody in Japan could satisfy him with a convincing answer, he went to China to seek light. There he attained enlightenment under the instruction of a Zen Buddhist monk. On his return to Japan he propagated the following doctrine: "All human beings have already been enlightened. They are Buddhas by nature. The practice of meditation is nothing but the Buddha's act itself."

The Buddha's acts continue incessantly and ceaselessly for the improvement of human society, but human beings should also constantly strive for the welfare of the community in which they live.

Zen Buddhism found great favour among the warriors for whom steadiness of mind was necessary. Patronized and encouraged by the Shoguns, Zen Buddhism rapidly spread all over the country. The Rinzai sect had closer contact with the Shogunate Government than the Soto, which, however, was very popular among the local lords and the farmers. As far as the number of followers is concerned the Soto sect is now next only to the Shin sect.

Zen Buddhism made a significant contribution to the development of Japanese culture. It brought to Japan the higher Chinese culture of those days. The painting in black and white, the Noh dance, the tea ceremony and the flower arrangements—all came into vogue as a result of the influence of Zen Buddhism. Moreover, we cannot overlook the fact that the spirit of Zen Buddhism played a considerable part in the formulation of the tenets of Bushido (Japanese chivalry).

The Nichiren Sect

This sect is called after its founder, Nichiren, who was a great patriot and saint of Japan. He was born in 1222 A.D. in Kominate in the house of a fisherman. He received ordination at the age of fifteen in a monastery on a hill

called Kiyozumi. He studied various branches of Buddhist literature and travelled widely over the country in search of the essential doctrine of Buddhism. After long years of study and of travel, he declared the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (the Lotus of the Good Law) to be the final revelation of the truth. He introduced the formula, *nemu myoho renge kyo* (homage to the sūtra of the Lotus of the Good Law), perhaps to counteract the influence of Nerbutsu of the Jodo sect. According to him, the Śākyamuni Buddha is the eternal, absolute Buddha and the recitation of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra or even its title is the best way of attaining enlightenment.

He expressed his views against the other sects so violently that he was often in trouble, although he always had miraculous escapes.

C. In Southern Countries

Fortunately, in the Buddhist countries of southern Asia, there never arose any serious differences on the fundamentals of Buddhism. All these countries except Viet-Nam—which is a Mahāyāna country—have accepted the principles of the Theravāda school and any difference there may be between the various schools is restricted to minor matters.

Ceylon

Ceylonese sources refer to the schools of Abhayagiri, Dakkhiṇā-vihāra and Jetavana which had brought about serious splits in the Buddhist community of Ceylon. Of these, the Abhayagiri school, which was also sometimes called the Dhammaruci-nikāya, flourished as a respectable rival to the Mahāvihāra school from which it differed in certain fundamentals. The followers of these schools were also called Vetulyavādins. In the course of the long struggle between the Mahāvihāra school and the Abhayagiri school, the former ultimately won in Ceylon. There are

now three different fraternities in Ceylon which owe their names to the places from which Upasampadā was brought, *i.e.*, Siam, or Upper or Lower Burma.

Burma

As we know from the Sāsanavaṃsa[1] the Burmese Saṅgha was also split up over minor matters like the interpretation of certain Vinaya rules. One of the questions under consideration was whether Buddhist monks upon being offered an elephant as a gift by the King should retain it for their own use or let it go free into the forest. Another matter of dispute was whether or not a monk should make a personal recommendation of his pupil to any householder. Later, controversies arose as to whether monks, when they went begging in a village should cover only the left shoulder with their robe, leaving the other bare (ekaṃsika), or cover both the shoulders (pārupaṇa). The argument raged for over a hundred years until the controversy was finally settled by a royal decree in the reign of King Badoah Prā (1781 A.D.). Sometimes trifling matters such as the use of a fan or the use of palm-leaves as a head-dress also became matters of controversy and resulted in further splits.

At present there appear to be three main fraternities in Burma. These differ mostly on questions of personal behaviour and very little on essential points. The Sudhamma fraternity which is the oldest and the largest numerically permits the use of umbrellas and sandals, the chewing of betel nuts or betel-leaves, smoking, and the use of fans at the time of the recitation of the parittas (protective hymns). The Schwegin group, founded by Jāgara Mahāthera in the reign of King Mindon (19th century A.D.), does not permit the chewing of betel nuts or betel leaves in the afternoon, nor does it favour smoking. The Dvāranikāya group of monks uses the expressions kāya-dvāra vaci-dvāra, mano-dvāra (the doors of body, tongue and

1. M. Bode's edition, pp. 66-67.

mind) instead of kāya-kamma, vaci-kamma and mano-kamma (actions of the body, tongue and mind).

Thailand and Cambodia

In Thailand and Cambodia, also, there are two fraternities, namely, the Mahānikāya, and the Dhammayuttika-nikāya which is descended from the Rāmaññ sect of Lower Burma. The latter is considered to be stricter in discipline. In Cambodia, the difference is restricted mainly to the pronouncing of Pali words and to very minor rules of conduct.

CHAPTER VII

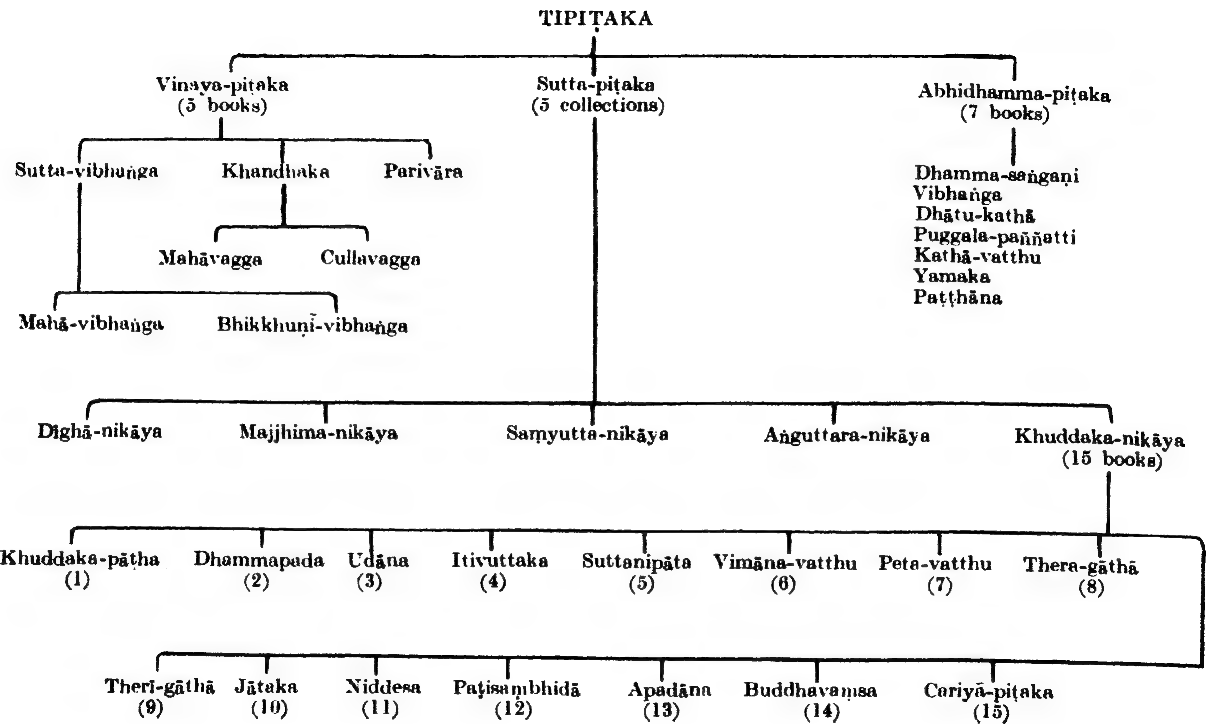
Buddhist Literature

General

As far as our present knowledge goes, we find that the main stock of systematized Buddhist literature, in the original or in translation, is contained mainly in Pali, Sanskrit (pure or mixed), Tibetan and Chinese, although the Buddhist texts were also translated into the language of the countries to which Buddhism spread.

In the treasure-house of Buddhist literature, the Pali Tripiṭaka represents the earliest available and most complete collection of Buddhist sacred literature. It is preserved in three systematic collections : (1) the Vinaya-piṭaka, or the Book of Discipline, (2) the Sutta-piṭaka, the popular book of discourses, and (3) the Abhidhamma-piṭaka, the collection of books on abstruse philosophy based on psychological ethics. The names of various books in these three Piṭakas and their mutual relation can be understood from the table on the next page.

Besides this canonical literature in Pali, there is also the non-canonical literature, consisting of the Milinda-pañha, the Netti-pakaraṇa, Buddhadatta's Manuals on Vinaya and Abhidhamma, commentaries on the Pali Tripiṭaka texts, including the Jātakas, written by or ascribed to Buddhaghosa or Dhammapāla, Chronicles of Ceylon like the Dīpavaṃsa, the Mahāvaṃsa, and the Cūlavaṃsa and later works in Pali modelled on classical Sanskrit poetry. Among the works of grammar, those of Kaccāyana and Moggallāna, the Rūpasiddhi and the Saddanīti are also well known. Buddhaghosa's masterly original work, the Visuddhimagga,


TIPIṬAKA
Vinaya-piṭaka (5 books)
Sutta-piṭaka (5 collections)
Abhidhamma-piṭaka (7 books)
Sutta-vibhaṅga
Khandhaka
Parivāra
Dhamma-saṅgaṇi
Vibhaṅga
Dhātu-kathā
Puggala-paññatti
Kathā-vatthu
Yamaka
Paṭṭhāna
Mahāvagga
Cullavagga
Mahā-vibhaṅga
Bhikkhuṇī-vibhaṅga
Dīghā-nikāya
Majjhima-nikāya
Saṃyutta-nikāya
Aṅguttara-nikāya
Khuddaka-nikāya (15 books)
Khuddaka-pāṭha (1)
Dhammapada (2)
Udāna (3)
Itivuttaka (4)
Suttanipāta (5)
Vimāna-vatthu (6)
Peta-vatthu (7)
Thera-gāthā (8)
Therī-gāthā (9)
Jātaka (10)
Niddesa (11)
Paṭisambhidā (12)
Apadāna (13)
Buddhavaṃsa (14)
Cariyā-piṭaka (15)

is veritably a small cyclopaedia on early Buddhism.

Unfortunately, we have at present no complete canon of Buddhist books preserved in Sanskrit, as in Pali. It appears, however, that the Sarvāstivāda school did possess the Āgamas corresponding to the Pali Nikāyas and seven books of Abhidharma corresponding to the seven books of the Pali Abhidhamma. The Mūla-sarvāstivādins possessed a Vinaya-piṭaka and large sections of this preserved in the Gilgit Manuscripts have now been published. These texts reveal in several places a remarkable divergence from the corresponding Pali texts, though they have some resemblance in general.

In Sanskrit, pure or mixed, therefore, we find several independent texts or fragments of texts which are of a varied nature and belong to different schools of both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna type. The Mahāvastu is claimed to be a book on Vinaya belonging to the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsaṅghikas but its subject matter is so varied that we find in it sūtras corresponding to some in the Dīgha, the Majjhima, and the Suttanipāta as well as stories which correspond to some in the Pali Jātakas. The Lalitavistara, an incomplete biographical account of the Buddha in mixed Sanskrit, is considered to be a text of the unorthodox (Mahāyāna) school and forms part of the Vaipulya-sūtra. Aśvaghoṣa is known for his Buddhacarita and Saundarānanda and Āryaśūra for his Jātaka-mālā, a Sanskrit text, though far more polished, corresponding to the Pali Cariyā-piṭaka. There is also a vast Avadāna literature, corresponding to the Pali Apadānas, containing stories intended to explain the good or bad effects of good or bad karma.

Among the Mahāyānist sūtras, nine texts or dharmas are regarded as the most important, of which special mention might be made of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, the Lalitavistara, the Laṅkāvatāra, the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa, the Gaṇḍavyūha, the Tathāgata-guhyaka, the Samādhirāja and the Daśabhūmīśvara. These are called the Vaipulya sūtras. Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and

Asaṅga are the authors of the philosophical works of this school, and we shall have occasion to refer to them elsewhere[1].

In Tibet, too, there is a large collection of translations of Indian Buddhist texts numbering more than 4,566. These are divided into two groups, namely, Bkaḥ ḥgyur, popularly called the Kanjur, consisting of 1,108 texts, and Bstan-ḥgyur, popularly called the Tanjur, consisting of 3,458 texts. The Kanjur is divided into the following seven parts: (1) Vinaya, (2) Prajñā-pāramitā, (3) Buddhavataṃsaka, (4) Ratnakūṭa, (5) Sūtra, (6) Nirvāṇa, and (7) Tantra, while the Tanjur is divided into (1) Tantra, and (2) Sūtra.

There exists a large number of translations from Indian texts into the Chinese language. In his Catalogue, Bunyiu Nanjio records as many as 1,662, which are classified into four divisions: (1) Sūtra-piṭaka, (2) Vinaya-piṭaka, (3) Abhidharma-piṭaka, and (4) Miscellaneous. Hobogirin, a still later catalogue, mentions as many as 2,184 texts printed in fifty-five volumes of the Taisho edition. In another 25 volumes, there are supplementary texts, written in China and Japan. In Japan there are three complete translations of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, including the supplementary 25 volumes in the Taisho edition of the Tripiṭaka. In the Manchurian language also there is a translation of the same, and in Mongolian, a translation of the Tibetan Tanjur.[2]

The intention in this chapter is to survey some important books in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit only.

SURVEY OF IMPORTANT BOOKS IN PALI AND BUDDHIST SANSKRIT

There was at one time a vast Buddhist literature in Pali, the Prakrits, mixed Sanskrit and pure Sanskrit. It is, indeed, ironical that not a single Buddhist work, with the exception of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, has been found within the borders of India. The main reasons for such a complete

1. See Chapter IX.

2. Chou Hsing Kuang, *Indo-Chinese Relations : A History of Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 203, 205.

disappearance of Buddhist literature from India are (i) that its study was confined to the ordained monks and novices resident in the monasteries, (ii) that the literature, which was mostly religious, was preserved in manuscript in the libraries or the cells of the monasteries and never kept in the houses of laymen, and (iii) that with the decay or destruction of the monasteries, whether by the passage of time or through desecration and vandalism, these manuscripts were destroyed. The Buddhist literature that we study today has come to us from monasteries outside India, in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Nepal, and in translations from Tibet, China and Mongolia. An idea of the vastness of the literature can be formed from the works mentioned in the Chinese and Tibetan Catalogues. A remarkable addition to our knowledge of Buddhist literature has been made by the discoveries of manuscripts in Central Asia and Gilgit as well as by the manuscripts photographed in Tibet by Rahul Sankrityayan and collected by Prof. G. Tucci. The original Sanskrit manuscripts, found in Central Asia, Gilgit and Tibet, belonging mostly to the fifth or sixth century A.D. or to an earlier period, were preserved in Central Asia and Gilgit in stone chambers built under the stūpas or monasteries, and in temples in Tibet where they were meant to be worshipped only and not studied. These discoveries have thrown a flood of light on the development of Buddhist literature and the languages in which it was written, particularly on some extinct Central Asian dialects into which some of the texts were translated.

Buddhist literature may be divided broadly into two sections: the Hīnayāna (in Pali and mixed Sanskrit) and the Mahāyāna (in mixed and pure Sanskrit). It can be further sub-divided into literatures of different sects of both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna schools.

I. *Biographies*

The life of the Buddha provided a fascinating subject for the ancient Buddhist writers and compilers. There are five biographies of the Buddha: (i) the Mahāvastu of the Mahā-

saṅghikas (Lokottaravādins), (ii) the Lalitavistara of the Sarvāstivādins in mixed Sanskrit, (iii) the Buddhacarita composed by Aśvaghoṣa in pure Sanskrit in the high-flown kāvya style, (iv) the Nidānakathā in pure Pali forming the introductory part of the Jātakas, and lastly (v) the Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra of the Dharmaguptas, probably written in mixed Sanskrit but now extant only in a Chinese translation which has been rendered into English by Beal under the title of *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha* (1875). Besides these, there are stray pieces in Pali and Sanskrit Vinaya, as also in the Nikāyas, depicting certain periods or events in the Buddha's life. The Mahāpadāna-sutta, for example, deals with the life of the previous Buddhas, particularly with that of Vipassī, who is almost a replica of Gautama Buddha; the Ariya-pariyesana-sutta relates the events after the Bodhisattva's renunciation up to the delivery of his first discourse while the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta gives a vivid account of the Buddha's last journey, his cremation and the division of his earthly relics. Likewise there are in the Suttanipāta, the Apadāna and the Mahāvaṃśa pieces dealing briefly with the Buddha's life.

There is a late poetical work in Pali called the Mahābodhivaṃsa which contains legends about the twenty-four Buddhas, during whose time Gautama Buddha acquired the necessary virtues of a Bodhisattva.

A true picture of the missionary activities of the Buddha, which spread over forty-five years, is found in the introductory parts of the Jātakas and the suttas of the five Nikāyas as well as in the Vinaya-piṭaka.

Of the five biographies of the Buddha, the most systematic is the Lalitavistara. Its sonorous gāthās are replete with bold imagery and its descriptive accounts in prose and poetry, though unrealistic, are calculated to produce faith and devotion for the Great Being. Next comes the Mahāvastu which relates incidents of the Buddha's life according to the different traditions, with sudden breaks in the continuity of the accounts. Its style is quaint and halting, and shows clearly its pristine character. Its importance lies in

the fact that the stories of the past births of the Buddha are introduced in it to support incidents in the present life of the Teacher. This was a common practice among the ancient writers, and even the Nikāyas and the Vinaya are not free from such digressions, not to speak of the Vinaya of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins. It is not easy to give an estimate of the Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra as the original text has been lost. From the abridged English translation of Beal, however, it can be stated that this biography occupies a place nearer to the Lalitavistara than to the Mahāvastu. It opens in the style of the Mahāvastu and, like the latter, recounts the Jātakas towards the end to underline the meritorious acts of the Buddha in his missionary days. The compiler of the biography has attended to certain incidents, thereby following the tradition of either the Mahāsaṅghikas or of the Kāśyapīyas or of the Mahāsthaviravādins. The Nidānakathā, in Pali, has an individual approach. It devotes the whole of the "Distant Epoch" to a detailed account of the twenty-four Buddhas, during whose time the Bodhisattva was born in different forms and acquired the virtues necessary for Buddhahood. In the "Intermediate" and "Proximate" Epochs, it relates the incidents of the Buddha's life without much embellishment. Like the Mahāvastu it occasionally mentions the Jātakas without reproducing the stories at length. The Buddhacarita stands by itself and has nothing in common with the biographies, except the well-known incidents of the Buddha's life with certain deviations. The biography extends to the session of the first Council and follows the Pali tradition generally. The Teacher is depicted as a human being, who succeeded in achieving perfection on account of accumulated merit in a past life. As a kāvya it stands unrivalled in Buddhist literature.

(i) *The Mahāvastu*

The Mahāvastu is an extensive work (covering 1,325 pages in print) written in mixed Sanskrit. It claims to be the first book of the Vinaya-piṭaka of the Lokottaravāda

branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The Mahāsaṅghikas, it may be observed, were the first batch of monks to secede from the orthodox group, the Theravādins or Sthaviravādins, about a century after the Buddha's passing. They lived mostly at Vaisali and Pāṭaliputra, and migrated, in course of time, to Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Guntur district of Andhra State.

Its language and style of composition seem to suggest that the Mahāvastu must have been written as early as the 1st or 2nd century B.C.

Most of the Indologists who have studied this work are of the opinion that it lacks in system and is, by and large, a confused mass of legends and historical facts. This criticism is partially true: none the less the scattered episodes in the treatise are not wholly unrelated. An attempt will be made in the following pages to indicate the lines which the compiler or the author followed to bring together the floating mass of legends and traditions concerning Śākyamuni's birth and previous births.

At the outset the compiler gives an account of the hells, and of the sufferings witnessed there by Mahāmaudgalyāyana. Then he mentions the four Caryās (courses of attainments) through which an individual must pass in order to attain Buddhahood. The first Caryā is called Prakṛticaryā, in which an individual is expected to be obedient to his parents, to the śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas, and to the elders, to perform good deeds, to instruct others to offer gifts, and to worship the Buddhas. While a being is in this Caryā, he is just a common being and not a Bodhisattva. Śākyamuni practised this Caryā from the time of Aparājitadhvaja Buddha.

The second Caryā is called Praṇidhi or Praṇidhāna. This consists in a being's resolving to attain bodhi in due course. Śākyamuni took this resolution five times in the course of his many existences as the ancient Śākyamuni Buddha, whose life extended over aeons.

The third Caryā, called Anuloma (*i.e.*, forward or pro-

gressive) is a continuation of the previous Caryā and consists in acquiring the virtues necessary to become a Buddha. Śākyamuni began this Caryā at the time of Śamitāvī Buddha. During the second and third Caryās, a Bodhisattva acquires the virtues mentioned in the Jātakas and advances from the first to the eighth bhūmi. Śākyamuni reached the seventh bhūmi, when he was born as Prince Kuśa[1].

The fourth or the last Caryā is called Avivarta or Anivartana (non-returning) and commences with the Bodhisattva reaching the eighth bhūmi when retrogression becomes impossible for him. When Śākyamuni was reborn as Meghamāṇava,[2] he reached this Caryā at the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha, who confirmed his ultimate success in attaining bodhi. It was reconfirmed by Sarvābhibhū Buddha when Śākyamuni was born as Abhiya or Abhiji bhikṣu. Subsequently, the Bodhisattva was born innumerable times[3] in order to cross the eighth and ninth bhūmis. He ultimately reached the tenth bhūmi to be born as Jyotipālamāṇava and given Yauvarājyābhiṣeka by Kāśyapa Buddha, at last becoming the god of gods in the Tuṣita heaven. He was to complete the tenth bhūmi as Gautama Buddha under the Bodhi tree at Gaya.

After dealing with the bhūmis, the compiler takes up the story of the last existence of Dīpaṅkara as a Bodhisattva which is almost a replica of the story of Śākyamuni's birth. After attaining bodhi he met Meghamāṇava, a very learned brāhmaṇa student, and told him that he would become Gautama Buddha. A similar forecast was made by Buddha Maṅgala when our Bodhisattva was born as Atula Nāgarāja.

The continuity of the biography is broken here, and all of a sudden an episode of Gautama Buddha's missionary life is introduced. This episode deals with the disappearance of

1. Not the Kusa of the Kusa-Jātaka.

2. The story of Meghamāṇavaka, though substantially similar to that of Sumedha Brāhmana of the Nidānakathā, differs from it in detail.

3. During the time of the Buddhas listed in Vol. I, pp. 136-141.

a pestilence ravaging Vaisali, the city of the Vajjis and Licchavis, as soon as Gautama Buddha stepped into the city to the discomfiture of the heretical teachers, Pūraṇa Kāśyapa and others who had failed to allay it. He recited the Ratanasutta, a Sanskritized version of the sutta in Pali.

The compiler concludes this part of his story by tracing the origin of the Śākyas and Koliyas, to which clans the parents of Prince Siddhārtha belonged. The account goes back to the origin of the world and its first inhabitants and the selection of Mahāsammata as the first king, from whom the Śākyas and Koliyas were descended.

The whole of this part of the Mahāvastu corresponds roughly to the "Distant Epoch" of the Nidānakathā, with the difference that the story of the Bodhisattva is carried back to his pre-Bodhisattva existences when he was engaged in Prakṛticaryā,

The actual biography of Prince Siddhārtha is to be found in the second volume of the Mahāvastu and corresponds to the "Intermediate Epoch" of the Nidānakathā. It opens with an account of the following topics: the Bodhisattva's selection of time, place, continent and family, his birth at Lumbinīvana, Ṛṣi Aśita's visit, the Bodhisattva's trance at Kṛṣigrāma, the display of skill, marriage, and Rāhula's appearance as a son of Yaśodharā, although he was self-born. The above is repeated in a slightly different form, perhaps according to another tradition, and then two Avalokita-sūtras of the semi-Mahāyāna type are introduced, one of which relates the topics in verse in a condensed form. This volume concludes with the Bodhisattva's approach to the Nirañjanā river and the defeat of Māra.

The third volume of the Mahāvastu[1] corresponds to the "Proximate Epoch" of the Nidānakathā. The first topic it deals with concerns the conversion of Mahākāśyapa with an incidental reference to the rule of Trikabhojana, according to which not more than three monks could eat together when invited. It is followed by a detailed account of the conver-

1. P. 47 ff.

sions of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, King Śuddhodana, Mahāprajāpatī, Yaśodharā, Rāhula and the Śakyan youths along with Upāli. After an intervening Bahubuddha-sūtra, the story of the Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu is resumed. The narrative then suddenly reverts to the seven weeks passed by the Buddha after the attainment of bodhi. Next comes an account of his first missionary career which is followed up to the conversion of the Buddha and King Bimbisāra at Rājagṛha.

(ii) *The Nidānakathā*

The only biography of Gautama Buddha in Pāli is the Nidānakathā which forms the introduction of the Jātaka commentary. Its authorship is not mentioned anywhere, although the author speaks of the three monks, *viz.*, Atthadassī, a recluse, Buddhamitta of the Mahīśāsaka sect and Buddhadeva, a monk of clear intellect, who inspired him to write the Jātaka commentary.[1]

About the division of the biography, the compiler of the Nidānakathā states that the existence of the Bodhisattva from the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha up to his birth as a Tuṣita god are placed in the "Distant Epoch" (Dūre nidāna), while the account of the Bodhisattva's descent from the Tuṣita heaven to his final emancipation at Bodh Gaya is treated as the "Intermediate Epoch" (Avidūre nidāna). The early missionary career of the Buddha up to the time of his meeting with Anāthapiṇḍika and Viśākhā at Sāvatthi is included in the "Proximate Epoch" (Santike nidāna).

The "Distant Epoch" opens with the biography of Sumedha Brāhmaṇa. Sumedha was born at Amarāvatī in a wealthy Brāhmaṇa family of pure lineage but lost his parents at an early age. He learned the Brahmanic sciences. Being dissatisfied with the wealth left by his parents, he gave it away in charity and became an ascetic, seeking Amatamahānibbāṇa which was free from origin and decay, pleasure and pain, disease and suffering. He realized that everything

1. See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 1-2.

in this world had two aspects, positive and negative, and therefore as an antidote to birth, there must be something which was unborn. He was determined to realize it and went to the Himalayas to meditate. He took up his abode at the Dhammaka mountain, and lived only on the fruit that fell from the trees. He soon attained perfection in the five higher powers (abhiññā), and in meditation.

At this time Buddha Dīpaṅkara reached the city of Rammaka in the border country and stopped at Sudassana-mahāvihāra. Sumedha-tāpasa found everyone busy making the place neat and tidy, to welcome the Buddha, so he also came forward to take a share in it. He was charmed by the glory of the Buddha's appearance and wanted to lay down his life for him. Lest the Buddha should soil his feet in the slush he lay flat on it like a bridge (maṇi-phalaka-setu) in order that the Buddha and his disciples, who were all Arhats, might tread over him. As he lay thus, he wished he could refrain from achieving his own salvation and become a Buddha himself so that he might be able to rescue endless numbers of beings from the stream of existence. Then Dīpaṅkara prophesied that the great ascetic Jaṭila would become a Buddha after innumerable aeons and related in detail where he would be born, how he would attain bodhi and who his chief disciples would be. The prophecy was confirmed by many miraculous events including an earthquake and there was no doubt left that Sumedha was a Buddha-bījāṅkura, a seedling of the Buddha. He also realized this fact and ascertained by his higher knowledge (abhiññā) that he must acquire the ten perfections (pāramitās) which were acquired by the previous Bodhisattvas in order to achieve Buddhahood.

Long after Dīpaṅkara Buddha, Buddha Koṇḍañña appeared at Rammavatī-nagara. At that time our Bodhisattva was reborn as Emperor Vijitāvī and gave a large gift to the Buddha and his Saṅgha. When the prophecy that he would become a Buddha was reiterated by Buddha Koṇḍañña, he listened to his religious discourses and became a recluse. He

studied the three Piṭakas, mastered the eight forms of meditation (samāpatti) and obtained the five higher powers (abhiññā). Then he passed away and was reborn in the Brahmaloka.

In this way the Nidānakathā relates the forms of existence of the Bodhisattva for each of the next twenty-one Buddhas, the last three of whom were Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa. The Dūre nidāna Section ends with a list of the Jātakas which depict the Bodhisattva's perfection in the ten pāramitās.

The "Intermediate Epoch" opens with the existence of the Bodhisattva as the lord of the Tuṣita heaven. He was entreated by the gods to appear in the mortal world to become a Buddha. He agreed and selected the time, place, family, mother, and limit of life. The rest of the story from his descent up to the attainment of bodhi follows the traditions preserved in the Mahāvastu and the Lalitavistara.

The "Proximate Epoch" begins with the usual account of the seven weeks immediately after the attainment of bodhi. Then follows the acceptance of Tapussa and Bhallika as lay devotees and the gift of hair relics to them for the erection of a stūpa. There is a reference to the Buddha's hesitation in preaching the doctrines, followed by an account of the Buddha's visit to Banaras where he convinced the five Brāhmaṇa ascetics in turn of the excellence of his teaching and delivered to them the discourses called Dhammacakka and Anatta-lakkhaṇa. He then converted Yaśa and his friends so that the number of his disciples rose to sixty. He sent them in different directions to propagate his teachings and himself went to Uruvelā and converted the three Jaṭila Kassapas by his sermon on Fire.

He was invited by King Śūddhodana to visit Kapilavastu, where he performed miracles to convince the Śākyas of his greatness, and went round the city with his disciples begging for food. The king and Yaśodharā felt aggrieved at the latter but could not stop him. As Yaśodharā remained in her apartments and would not come out to welcome him,

the Teacher himself went to her with his four disciples. She spoke of the sacrifices she had made for the sake of her lord. This led to a reference to her former existence as related in the Canda-Kinnara Jātaka.

After this appears the usual account of the ordination of Rāhula and of the crown prince Nanda on the eve of the latter's coronation and marriage.

Next comes the episode of the meeting between the Buddha and Anāthapiṇḍika at Rājagṛha, the purchase of Jetavana and the construction on it of a monastery. The biography ends with the Buddha at Śrāvasti where the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika, like Viśākhā, gave away the monastery to the Saṅgha of the four quarters, present and future.

II. *The Buddha's Teachings*

(i) *The Pali Sutta-piṭaka*

The Buddha's teachings are contained in the Sutta-piṭaka which consists of five Nikāyas, namely, the Dīgha, the Majjhima, the Saṃyutta, the Aṅguttara and the Khuddaka. The difference in the titles does not always correspond to the contents except in the case of the Saṃyutta and the Aṅguttara. In the Dīgha, there are some long suttas, but most of them are short, and some even shorter than the suttas of the Majjhima. It contains two suttas, Saṅgīti and Dasuttara, which should have found a place in the Aṅguttara. In the Majjhima again there are several suttas which are longer than many in the Dīgha. There are certain groups of suttas, such as the Rajavagga, the Brāhmaṇavagga, and the Vibhaṅgavagga, which would not have been out of place in the Saṃyutta, although it must be admitted that the method and style of the Majjhima and the Saṃyutta differ greatly. In the Saṃyutta, the grouping of the suttas is made under a common label without any reference to the topics. In the Aṅguttara the title is justified, for the contents are arranged numerically and, at times, the divisions and sub-divisions have been strained to maintain the numerical classification. It even includes the Vinaya topics where

they could fit in with the numerical classification. The title Khuddaka-nikāya is not at all justifiable if by khuddaka is meant "small". Perhaps, the intention was that all the suttas, texts or commentaries, which could not be classified in any of the four Nikāyas, should be grouped together as a collection of supplementary texts.

The grouping of the suttas into Nikāyas does not therefore rest on a very rational basis. It may be that the division is due to the Bhāṇaka system prevalent in the early days. Writing was unknown then, and so the Buddha's sayings, as collected by his disciples, were committed to memory by a group of monks and were handed down to their disciples orally. There were probably two such groups, who, in order to distinguish themselves from each other, became known as Dīgha-Bhāṇakas and Majjhima-Bhāṇakas. The other two Nikāyas were later developments, their object being only to rearrange the topics dealt with in the Dīgha and the Majjhima. As it is not within the scope of this article to deal with all the Nikāyas separately, a brief account of only the Dīgha-nikāya is given.

The Dīgha-nikāya consists of three books containing thirty-four suttas, of which about sixteen might be described as long. The first suttanta, Brahmajāla, has two parts, the first enumerating the superstitious beliefs and popular games and entertainments, and the second summing up the various doctrinal and philosophical speculations in vogue at the time. The second suttanta, Sāmaññaphala, also has two parts, the first stating the doctrines of the six heretical teachers and the second the benefits derived in an ascending order by a monk of the Buddhist Saṅgha. The next three suttantas, Ambaṭṭha, Soṇadaṇḍa, and Kūṭadanta, for the most part, discuss the injustice of the Brahmanical view that brāhmaṇas were entitled to certain privileges by birth. The superiority of the ideal of life envisaged by the Buddha is also brought out in contrast. The sixth (Mahāli), the seventh (Jāliya), the tenth (Subha), and the twelfth (Lohicca) suttantas revert to the topics of Sāmaññaphala in a slightly

different manner.

The eleventh sutta (Kevaṭṭa) shows that the Buddha was superior to the gods headed by Brahmā inasmuch as he alone was able to answer a question which the gods were not. We find here Brahmā leading the questioner away and telling him that he could not, in the presence of other gods, say that he did not know the answer to the question. He then referred the questioner to the Buddha.

The eighth (Kassapa-sīhanāda) suttanta speaks of the various ascetic practices prevalent during the time of the Buddha, while the ninth (Poṭṭhapāda) introduces us to the type of discourses usually delivered to the wanderers (paribbājakas). Both of these suttantas also refer to the fruits which the Buddhists acquired through holy practices. The thirteenth (Tevijja) suttanta refutes the notion that the Brahmaloka can be reached through the methods prescribed by the Vedic seers and teaches how one can attain it through self-restraint and the practice of the four Brahmavihāras, *viz.*, love, compassion, joy at the success of others, and equanimity.

The second book of the Dīgha-nikāya contains suttantas, almost all of which have a Mahā prefixed to the title. The first, Mahāpadāna, deals with the lives of the seven Buddhas who came before Gautama Buddha and describes in detail the life of Vipassī, which is but a replica of Śākyamuni's life. The Mahānidāna, as its name implies, gives an exposition of the Law of Causation and discusses the various forms of beings. By far the best suttanta of this Nikāya is the Mahāparinibbāṇa[1], which gives a realistic account of the last days of the Buddha's life. Particularly important are the names of the villages through which he passed on his way to Kuśinagara and the last instructions he gave for the well-being of the Saṅgha. He stressed the observance of precepts, meditation, knowledge and emancipation, and laid down four rules to ascertain the authenticity of Buddha-

1. A fragmentary Sanskrit version of this sutta has been discovered in Central Asia and deciphered and published by Prof. E. Waldschmidt (1950).

vacanas. He also recommended to lay devotees a visit to Kapilavastu, Gaya, Banaras and Kuśinagara. His last words were: *Vayadhammā saṅkhāra appamādena sampādetha* (all constituted things are subject to decay and so perform your duties diligently). The suttanta ends with a vivid account of the cremation of the Buddha's body and the division of his relics.

The main object of the next five suttantas (xvii—xxi) is to prove that, owing to the fact that many inhabitants of Kāsi-Kosala, Vajji-Malla, Ceti-Vaṃsa, Kuru-Pañcāla, Maccha-Sūrasena and Aṅga-Magadha followed the Buddha's teachings, the number of entrants to heaven increased greatly. Of the five suttantas, the Mahāsudassana is an offshoot of the Mahāparinibbāṇa and gives an account of the past greatness of Kuśinagara. The Mahāgovinda, a story of the past, is particularly important in that it likens India to a cart, and divides it into seven provinces, *viz.*, Kaliṅga, Potana, Avantī, Sovīra, Videha, Aṅga and Kāśī. This suttanta appears also in the Mahāvastu. Like the Tevijja-suttanta, it dilates on the merits of the practice of the four Brahma-vihāras.

The last two suttantas of the volume are the Mahasatipaṭṭhāna and the Pāyāsi. In the former the path of mindfulness is exhaustively explained. It consists in keeping the mind (sati) alert (upaṭṭhāna) to what is happening to one's body and feelings. It also exhorts one to perform the duties and to acquire the virtues prescribed by the Buddha. The other suttanta is named after a Khattiya teacher and philosopher called Pāyāsi, who upheld the materialistic doctrine that there was no rebirth after death, and that the acts of a being, good or bad, were not productive of any effects. This view was refuted by Kumāra Kassapa, a distinguished disciple of the Buddha.

The third volume contains eleven suttantas, of which the first four (xxiv—xxvii) deal mainly with non-Buddhistic views and ascetic practices. This suttanta reiterates from the Brahmajāla-suttanta, some of the non-Buddhistic views

about the beginning of the world. The next suttanta, the Udumbarika-sīhanāda, speaks of some of the evil effects of rigorous ascetic practices while the Cakkavatti-sīhanāda admonishes the Buddhists to be self-reliant and make the Dhamma their sole refuge. Although the Buddha disapproved of any speculation regarding the origin of the world, the Aggañña-suttanta explains how the world began, and denounces the Brāhmaṇa's claim to superiority by birth.

The next two suttantas, the Sampasādanīya and the Pāsādika, contain the gist of the Buddha's teachings and moral instructions. The latter suttanta was delivered when dissension occurred among the followers of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta soon after his death, and contains (i) a reference to a view of Uddaka Rāmaputta, (ii) an exposition of the term "sukhallikānuyoga" appearing in the Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta, and (iii) a justification for leaving some questions unanswered as did the Teacher.

The Lakkhaṇa-suttanta discusses in detail the acts by which a person acquires the thirty-two signs of great men.

The Siṅgālovāda-suttanta is very important in view of the fact that it is the only comprehensive discourse delivered by the Buddha for the benefit of the lay devotees. It is regarded by some scholars as the source of Aśoka's Dhamma. The Āṭānāṭiya-suttanta is described as a magic spell for the protection of lonely monks from evil-minded yakṣas.

The last two suttantas summarize the teachings of the Buddha as in the Aṅguttara-nikāya. Of these, the Dasuttara, which is the last, follows the catechetical method.

(ii) *The Dhammapada*

We may add a few words here about the Dhammapada which belongs to world literature. It is equally popular in Buddhist and non-Buddhist countries, as it contains ideas of universal appeal besides being a manual of Buddhist teachings. It consists of 423 verses arranged according to topics into 26 vaggas or chapters and is learnt by heart by young monks in the Buddhist countries of South Asia. Its versified

form makes it easy to commit to memory.

Dhammapada means religious word or saying and we find it used in this sense in the book itself (44, 45). The Buddhists say that the teachings of the Buddha are briefly contained in this book, since it discusses the essential principles of Buddhist philosophy and the Buddhist way of life.

This little manual, like many other Buddhist works, condemns all kinds of sacrifice and the ascetic practices of self-mortification, and its main stress is on good conduct (śīla), stabilized by concentration (samādhi) and strengthened by sound reasoning (paññā). The teaching of the Buddhas in a nutshell is: "Abstain from all evil; accumulate what is good and purify your mind." (183.) Which religion would not agree with this? According to this teaching, all compound things are transitory, full of suffering and, consequently, incapable of being called one's own (anattā). People are exhorted not to look to the external attraction of things, but to take cognizance of their unpleasant aspects. It recognizes ignorance (avidyā) as being the highest form of impurity (243) and holds that the suffering in this world can be brought to an end only by the destruction of craving or hankering. Greed, ill-will and delusion are considered as dangerous as fire, and unless they are held in check, it is not possible to attain a happy life.

And to achieve a happy state of life one must avoid the two extremes—indulgence in a life of pleasure and the practices of self-mortification. One must follow the Middle Path—the Noble Eightfold Path of the Buddhas which is based on the Buddhist Trinity of the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha. According to the Dhammapada, the attainment of the different stages on the Buddhist Path is to be preferred even to the possession of the whole world (178). It enjoins all beings to develop those factors of enlightenment which would enable them to cultivate the mind. It emphasizes the principle that one makes or mars oneself, and that no one else can help one to rid oneself of impurity. A man must

exert himself. Even the Buddhas are of little help because like signposts they can only guide you (276). It recommends a life of peace and non-violence (129-30, 142), and declares that enmity can never be overcome by enmity but by kindness (5). Its advice is to conquer anger by cool-headedness, evil by good, miserliness by generosity, and falsehood by truth (223). It also enjoins men not to speak harshly to others, as they in their turn are likely to do the same (133).

This little book is of considerable literary merit. It abounds in appropriate similes which touch the heart. While recommending to a Buddhist monk a spotless life and a life of non-interference in the politics of a town or village it says: "It is better for a monk to eat a red hot iron ball than to live a life of non-restraint." (308.) "The monk should go to a village to take his food and go away without meddling in the affairs of the town, just like a bee that goes to the flower, sucks the honey but does no harm to the colour or smell of the flower." (49.) A man who reads much good literature but never tries to bring it into practice is compared to a cowherd who counts the number of cows that go to pasture under his care, but has no proprietary right in any of them (19). When a young man in the prime of life among his own people is snatched away by death, the author uses the simile of a flood washing away the whole of the village that is asleep (287). A man who becomes entangled in his own doings is compared to a spider who finds itself enmeshed in its own web (347).

There are, besides, many verses which contain universal truths—truths for all times and for all countries. For instance:

"It is easier to do evil and harmful things than to do good and salutary things." (163.)

"There are only a few people in this world who have an insight: most of them are blind." (174.)

"To be born as a human being is indeed a rare thing." (182.)

"One should never belittle evil things saying that they

will never affect one.

A water jar becomes, in course of time, full by a constant dripping of water." (121, 122.)

"It is easy to see the faults of others but not so easy to see one's own." (252.)

"The smell of flowers goes only with the wind, but the fame (lit. smell) of good men goes even against the wind." (54.)

"This is a thing of old and not of the present day—that people blame one who is silent, or one who talks too much, or even one who is moderate in his speech. There is none in this world who is not blamed!" (227.)

How telling are these sayings!

It is on account of such gems of literary merit and universal appeal that this little book has been translated into a number of languages in Asia and Europe.

(iii) *The Sanskrit Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*

The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka is one of the earliest texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is composed partly in prose and partly in verse. As is usual with early Mahāyāna texts, the language of the prose portion is in fairly good Sanskrit while the verse is in mixed Sanskrit. In view of its Buddhological conceptions and linguistic characteristics, the date of its composition should be placed a little after that of the Mahāvastu and the Lalitavistara, that is, about the first century A.D. Its earliest Chinese translations were made by Dharmarakṣa in 286 A.D. and by Kumārajīva in 383 A.D. Two centuries later (601 A.D.), Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta also translated it. According to Nanjio, there were eight or nine Chinese translations of this text, of which only the above mentioned three are extant. It formed the main scripture of a few Chinese and Japanese Buddhist sects, particularly the Tendai and the Nichiren sects of Japan, and it is recited in all the temples of the Zen (Dhyāna) sect.[1]

This text represents the period of transition from Hina-

1. See appendix to Chapter VI.

yāna to Mahāyāna Buddhism. A large part of the book is devoted to proving that Hīnayāna Buddhism was preached by the Buddhas for the benefit of people of lower intelligence and modest aims, to whom the whole truth was not divulged. Hīnayāna Buddhists were advised to practise the thirty-seven Bodhipakṣiya dharmas, *i.e.*, dharmas conducive to enlightenment, in order to rid themselves of moral impurities (kleśāvaraṇa), to comprehend the Four Truths and the Law of Causation, and to realize pudgala-śūnyatā or anātman (absence of soul or individuality) whereby they could reach a place of temporary rest (nirvāṇa). This text then points out that the Hīnayānists, who had reached perfection in these attainments, were advised to exert themselves further in their future existences in order to acquire the merits and virtues prescribed for the Bodhisattvas for the attainment of Buddhahood. They were required to realize dharma-śūnyatā (non-existence of phenomenal objects) and dharma-samatā (sameness of all objects) whereby their Jñeyāvaraṇa (the veil covering the Truth) would be removed and they would become Samyak-Sambuddhas.

The question may be asked, why the Buddhas should preach two kinds of truth. The text explains that the truth preached for the Hīnayānists was only an expedient (upāya-kauśalya) resorted to by the Buddhas in order to attract beings of lower intellect to their doctrines with the ultimate object of leading them to the highest knowledge. It asserts that there is only one *yāna* (way) for complete emancipation and not three. Śravakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna and Bodhisattvayāna, the three paths, were only expedients of the Buddhas to lead different types of beings to the ultimate truth. That this was so is clear from the fact that several well-known figures of the Hīnayāna school were assured that they would all become Buddhas in the long run.

The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka is divided into twenty-seven chapters. In the first, the text is introduced as a Mahā-vaipulya-sūtra, delivered by previous Buddhas, and handed

down to Dīpaṅkara by Varaprabha Bodhisattva, a previous incarnation of Mañjuśrī. In the second chapter, the Buddha points out that the highest truth can be realized by the Tathāgatas only within themselves and was not to be communicated to others. It is thus beyond the reach not only of śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas but also of Bodhisattvas of the highest bhūmi (avaivartika). The Buddha admits that for the sake of beings who believe in the existence of the world and its sufferings, he imparted his teachings in nine aṅgas (divisions) and taught them how to attain nirvāṇa. He initiated only the advanced Bodhisattvas into the deeper teachings which lead to Buddhahood. In this chapter, the Buddha refers to his hesitation in preaching his doctrines and to the intervention of Brahmā at which he changed his mind. In the third and fourth chapters, there are two most interesting stories which show that the compassionate Buddhas could not be partial to anybody and that they were as solicitous of the welfare of the śrāvakas as of that of the Bodhisattvas. In the fifth chapter, the Buddha is compared to a cloud and the sun, raining and shining over all without any discrimination. The meaning of nirvāṇa is then explained as the realization of the sameness of all objects. The nirvāṇa of the śrāvakas is only a respite (viśrāma) and is not the ultimate nirvṛti (quietude).

Śākyasiṃha announces[1] that several Hīnayāna Arhats and non-Arhats would become Buddhas in the long run, and then declares that in one of his previous existences, he had received this sūtra from a hermit, who was reborn as Devadatta subsequently. He foresaw that there would be persons who would speak ill of this sūtra and thereby commit grave sins. With a number of similes he exalts the sūtra and enjoins the faithful to erect stūpas at the site where this sūtra would be delivered and to honour it with the same devotion they would bestow on a caitya housing the Buddha's relics[2].

1. Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Chapters VI, VIII, IX and XII.
2. *Ibid.*, Chapters X, XI, XIII and XIV.

In the next two chapters, it is said that the length of life of the Buddhas is unlimited and that this might not be believed by all, particularly by the Hīnayānists who hold that the Buddha attained bodhi at Gaya and lived for forty years after his emancipation. The Buddha asserts that it was he who created Dīpaṅkara Buddha and the other Buddhas and caused them to deliver discourses on Ārya-satyas and Pratītya-samutpāda. Again, it was he who made them attain parinirvāṇa for the benefit of those whose mental equipment was not of a high order, and likewise caused them to deliver discourses on the pāramitās and Tathāgata-jñāna for the benefit of the Bodhisattvas who had higher aims.

The remaining chapters are devoted mostly to the recounting of merit acquired by a being for reciting, propagating and appreciating the sūtra.

A digression is made in Chapter XXIX, where Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva is introduced and eulogized. It is said that anyone uttering the words, *Namo-namas tasmai abhayaṃdada avalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya,* would be saved from all calamities of shipwreck, fire, or moral impurity, as this Bodhisattva would take the forms of the beings he is to save and deliver them from all troubles.

The text ends with the Buddha's exhortation to all to preserve and propagate the sūtra. He says, "I bequeath unto you this Samyaka-sambodhi and entrust you with the responsibility of propagating it far and wide, thereby becoming the donors of Buddha knowledge."

III. *The Buddha's Disciplinary Code*

Vinaya-piṭaka

All the disciplinary rules framed for the conduct and guidance of the Buddhist monks and nuns are collected in the Vinaya-piṭaka. The Buddhist order of monks was organized wholly on a democratic basis. The Buddha nominated no successor and wanted his followers to perform all ecclesiastical acts and duties according to his instructions. It was, of course, not possible for the Buddha to lay down all the rules

in anticipation of what the unrighteous monks might do to evade or misinterpret them. Hence, the Vinaya-piṭaka, as it stands today, is a growth of centuries out of the basic rules formulated by the Teacher himself. In the Pali Canon, this Piṭaka is divided into five parts[1] which are arranged in the following manner: (A) Khandhakas: (i) Mahāvagga, and (ii) Cullavagga; (B) Sutta-vibhaṅga: (iii) Pārājikā to Nissaggiya and (iv) Pācittiya to Sekhiya and Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga; and (C) (v) Parivāra. This arrangement holds good for a picture of the growth of the Buddhist Saṅgha but does not indicate the chronological growth of the Piṭaka. Both from the contents and quaintness of the Pali language it can safely be asserted that the Pātimokkha-sutta was the earliest composition. In the present edition the sutta does not appear separately but is included in the Sutta-vibhaṅga, where it appears as the text for purposes of comment. The Sutta-vibhaṅga was no doubt written at a subsequent date and contains many additions like the case laws of a modern law book. The Mahāvagga traces the growth of the Saṅgha from its inception and is thus rightly the first book of the Piṭaka. Its contents and style of composition, however, reveal a date later than that of the Sutta-vibhaṅga. The Cullavagga contains many topics which should form the closing part of the Piṭaka. It describes in detail the manner in which an ecclesiastical punishment is to be inflicted and accepted by the guilty. It also contains some general rules regarding the daily life of the monks, the proper place for which is in the Mahāvagga. It seems that the Cullavagga was either a much later compilation than the Mahāvagga or that it incorporated those topics which, in the opinion of the compilers, could not be included in any other part. Accounts of two Buddhist Synods, one of which was held a century after the Buddha's demise, are also included. The last part, the Parivāra, is a mnemonic manual for the use of the monks. Its object is to help the monks not only to remember the rules but also to be aware of the facts

1. See table on p. 140.

and circumstances which would bring a monk within the orbit of the rules.

(i) *The Pātimokkha-sutta.*—The Pātimokkha (Skt. Prātimokṣa-sūtra) forms the nucleus of the Vinaya-piṭaka. It is the oldest part of the Pali Piṭaka and its language appears to be older than that of the Nikāyas. Two complete Sanskrit versions of this text have been discovered, one at Kuca, published by Louis Finot in *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, and the other at Gilgit, published by A. C. Banerji in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1953. Besides these two several fragments of the text have been published by La Vallée Poussin and a fragmentary text of the Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa-sūtra by E. Waldschmidt. In the Jayaswal Research Institute there is a photographic copy of the Prātimokṣa-sūtra of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The greater antiquity of the text is established by the references made to this text in the Nikāyas, particularly in the Majjhima and the Aṅguttara. It seems to be the earliest manual of disciplinary rules compiled for the guidance of monks and nuns.

The Pātimokkha consists of two parts, namely, the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha and the Bhikkhuṇī-pātimokkha. for monks and nuns respectively. The offences that may be committed by monks and nuns have been classified according to their gravity. The worst offences grouped under the heading Pārājikā, which entailed the expulsion of the guilty from the community of monks, are (i) lack of continence, (ii) theft, (iii) murder or abetment of murder, and (iv) exaggeration of one's power to perform miracles, etc. The next group of offences, mentioned under the heading Saṅghādisesa (Saṅghāvaśeṣa) entailed temporary suspension of the offending monks. They could be re-admitted to the Saṅgha if found admissible by a chapter of at least twenty monks. It mentions thirteen offences arising out of the relation between monks and women, the construction of a hermitage, false accusations, dissensions in the Saṅgha, and obstinacy. The third section, called the Aniyata (uncertain), speaks of two cases which require circumstantial evidence to ascertain the

offence. The fourth section is the Nissaggiya-pācittiya which deals with twenty-six offences that can be committed by a monk who appropriates certain articles of use which were not permissible. The offending monks could be absolved if they parted with the article in question (nissaggiya-naiḥsargika) and confessed their guilt (pācittiya pāyantika). The fifth section, entitled Pācittiya, enumerates ninety-two offences relating to careless acts leading to insecticide, to lack of respect for the Buddhist teachings and disciplinary code and to non-compliance with the directions given in the latter, and lastly to indiscreet acts in the use of beds, seats, robes, etc., while dwelling in a monastery. The sixth section, called Pāṭidesanīya, speaks of only four offences relating to a monk's taking food which has not been offered to him. Absolution from all the offences mentioned in these two sections can be obtained by a formal confession of guilt before the Saṅgha. The seventh section, Sekhiya (Śaikṣa), gives seventy-five instructions to be observed by a monk in his daily life, for instance, how he must enter a village or a town, take food inoffensively, enter a sick room, and so on. These are not treated as offences and no punishment is therefore prescribed for them. The last section is called the Adhikaraṇa-samatha or the means of settling disputes within the Saṅgha. There are seven of these. The first is to place the two quarrelling monks face to face, the second to make one admit that his memory had failed in regard to the point of dispute, while the third is to make a monk admit that he was not in his normal mind when the point of dispute arose. The fourth relates to the formality of confession, the fifth to the use of śalākā (voting sticks), the sixth to prevarication and punishment for it, and the last to the avoidance of publicity to a dispute within the Saṅgha.

(ii) *The Sutta-vibhaṅga.*—The Sutta-vibhaṅga is a commentary on the Pātimokkha-sutta. It opens with an account of a famine at Verañjā when the Buddha visited the place. The famine was of such intensity that the people had to resort to rationing (*salākavutti*). The Buddha then left Verañjā

and passed through Soreyya, Saṃkassa, Kaṇṇakujja, and reached Payāga, where he crossed the Ganga and reached Banaras. From Banaras he went to Vesālī and stopped at Mahāvana Kūṭāgārasālā.

Near Vesālī was the village of Kalandaka, where there lived a rich banker, whose son, Sudinna, listened to the Buddha's discourses at Vesālī and became his disciple. At that time a famine broke out in the land of the Vajjis. As Sudinna had many rich friends and relatives at Vesālī, he decided to go there, so that he and his brethren might obtain ample alms. One day Sudinna went on a begging round in his own village and asked for the kummāsa (rice-junket) which the maidservant of his parents was about to throw away. When his mother heard the news of his arrival, she persuaded his wife to meet him and beg for a son. Sudinna granted her wish and went back to his monastery, became repentant and reported the matter to his fellow brethren. When this was brought to the notice of the Buddha, he reprimanded the erring monk severely and laid down a rule that if a monk committed sexual indulgence, he would be guilty of pārājika, and thus become unfit to be a monk. This is the first rule of the Pātimokkha.

In the manner indicated above, each rule was framed by the Buddha to deal with the failings of the monks. The stories of such lapses do not, however, represent actual incidents but were usually inventions of the commentator. The commentator then explained the rule in detail. Apart from the comments made on the phraseology of the rules, there are many discussions on what a female is; what would happen if a change of sex occurs[1]; the probable ways of sexual indulgence and related subjects. The cases of sexual indulgences which do not come within the purview of the rule are also discussed.

1. On this interesting problem, see P. V. Bapat's paper on "Change of Sex in Buddhist Literature" submitted to the 18th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference (Pali and Buddhism Section); see also the summary of papers of that Session and Dr. S. K. Belwalkar's Commemoration Volume.

The second rule deals with theft which also involved the expulsion of the guilty from the community of monks. The subject is introduced through the story of the monk Dhaniya, a potter's son, who collected wood without anybody's permission to build his hermitage. In commenting upon the words of the rule, the commentator has discussed the definitions of an article and of theft. At the end he has pointed out the forms of taking things which do not come within the purview of the rule.

The other two rules of the Pārājikā have been dealt with likewise, covering in all over 109 pages of the third volume of the Vinaya-piṭaka.[1]

The first rule of Saṅghādisesa was laid down at Sāvatthi, where a monk called Seyyasaka committed self-abuse. The commentator enumerates the various ways in which such indulgences can take place and come within the purview of the rule as well as those cases which deserve exemption.

The second rule of the Saṅghādisesa lays down that a monk must not come in close touch with the body of a woman. This rule was laid down at Sāvatthi, near which in a forest dwelt a monk, Udāyī, who touched a brāhmaṇī when she visited his hermitage.

The commentator first raises the questions, "whether such contact was intentional or accidental", "what contact actually is", and ends with the statement that such contact with one's mother, sister or daughter does not come within the purview of the rule.

The same monk is cited as the cause of the subsequent three rules. The commentator discusses various types of girls and wives, the various circumstances in which a monk commits offences under these rules and what constitutes an exception. The rest of the rules are illustrated, commented upon and elaborated in the same way.

In commenting on the Nissaggiya-pācittiya section, the enthusiasm of the commentator seems to have abated to a large extent. He does not discuss many cases which may

1. Oldenberg's edition.

or may not come within the purview of the rules. The exemptions allowed are stated in very general terms. For instance, if a monk has an unbalanced mind, or is the first in the Saṅgha to commit the offence, or if the circumstances are such that the breach of the rule is inevitable, he need not be considered guilty of the breach of any of the rules.

The comments on the ninety-two rules of pācittiya open with an account of Hatthaka, a Śākyan monk, who deliberately made false statements in a disputation with the heretics. This led the Buddha to lay down the rule that anyone uttering falsehoods wittingly is guilty of pācittiya. The commentator details the circumstances in which the offence takes place. The second rule was occasioned by the Chabbaggiya monks who spoke disparagingly of the other monks. The commentator illustrates the evil effects of such words by the story of the bull, Nandivisāla, and in the process of deciding whether the words were disrespectful or not, he enumerates the various castes, professions and qualities which set a person or a monk high or low in the estimation of the common people.

The four rules of the Pāṭidesanīya and the seventy-five rules of the Sekhiya have been concisely commented upon while the seven ways of settling disputes have been passed over without any comment whatsoever.

(iii) *The Bhikkhuṇī vibhaṅga.*—There are seven groups of offences in the Bhikkhuṇī-vibhaṅga. These range from Pārājikā to Adhikaraṇa-samatha (settlement of disputes), and are arranged according to their gravity.

The first section on Pārājikā includes four rules in addition to the four prescribed in the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha. In commenting on the fifth rule, namely, that a nun with a lustful mind must not rub or touch the middle part of a male's body, the commentator tells the story of Sāḷha, the grandson of Migāra, who managed to meet young Sundarīnandā Bhikkhuṇī and exposed her to the aforementioned offence. Then follow comments on the words of the rules in detail but cases which may or may not come within the purview

of the rule are not cited. The commentator only mentions the exceptional cases as usual. The other three rules are similarly commented upon.

In the second section, or the Saṅghādisesa, seven rules are taken from the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha. The other ten are specially prescribed for the community of nuns. The first rule instructs a nun to shun legal suits. This was occasioned by a will left by a lay devotee who gave away a portion of his property to the nunnery. It was disputed and the matter was placed before the Law Minister (Vohārika-mahāmatta) for decision. The second rule enjoins a nun to disclose to the proper authorities any information that she may have concerning a theft. Here the proper authorities are rājā, Saṅgha, gaṇa, pūga and seṇi. The next eight rules restrict the nuns from moving about alone, from coming into contact with men, from quarrelling and from showing lack of respect to the Triratna. The comments are confined to the words of the rules only.

Of the thirty rules in the Nissaggiya-pācittiya, which is the third section, eighteen are taken from the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha. The first rule refers to the habit of some nuns to collect begging bowls. The commentator describes different types of bowls and offers advice on what a nun should do to avoid committing the offence. The next rule relates to the irregularities in the distribution of robes. The following eight rules deal with prevarications by nuns in the matter of their requirements. The eleventh and twelfth rules prohibit a nun from asking for a woollen robe worth more than four *kaṃsas* which are equivalent to sixteen *kahāpaṇas* or for a *khoma* robe worth more than two and a half *kaṃsas* or ten *kahāpaṇas*.

In the fourth section, on the Pācittiya, the commentator comments on ninety-six out of one hundred and sixty-six rules. The rules relate to various matters concerning lapses common to women.

In the fifth section, the Pāṭidesanīya, the nuns are forbidden to take clarified butter, oil, honey, molasses, fish,

meat, condensed milk and curds.

The sixth and seventh sections, Sekhiya and Adhikaraṇa-samatha, are taken from the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha.

(iv) *The Khandhakas*.—The Khandhakas are divided into two parts, the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga. The topics dealt with in the two parts have not always had a clear distinction, besides lacking sequence, and so some of the chapters of the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga have been put together here to enable the reader to have an idea of the subject as dealt with in both the parts.

Among the manuscript finds at Gilgit in Kashmir, a portion of the Vinaya-piṭaka of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins was discovered. This manuscript has been published and throws a flood of light on the growth of the Vinaya-piṭaka. The order of the chapters in this manuscript is as follows: (i) Pravrajyā, (ii) Poṣadha, (iii) Pravāraṇā, (iv) Varṣā, and (v) Carma[1], (vi) Bhaiṣajya[2], (vii) Cīvara, (viii) Kaṭhina, (ix) Kośāmbaka, and (x) Karma[3], (xi) Pāṇḍulohitaka, (xii) Pudgala, (xiii) Pārivāsika, (xiv) Poṣadhasthāpana, (xv) Śayanāsana[4], and (xvi) Saṅghabheda[5]. To introduce Devadatta, the chief figure of the Saṅghabhedavastu, the compiler of the Sanskrit Vinaya-piṭaka has started the biography of the Buddha from Prince Siddhārtha's vision of the four stages of human beings, and carried the story up to his visit to Kapilavastu and the conversion of the Śākyan youths including Devadatta. In the Pali Vinaya-piṭaka, the biography is put at the beginning of the Mahāvagga, while the story of the conversion of the Śākyan youths is placed in the seventh chapter of the Cullavagga. On comparing the Pali and Sanskrit texts, it appears that the compilers of the two versions have depended upon an older model and made sporadic variations in the arrangement and the detail of the accounts. Both of them

1. See Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III, part iv.
2. *Ibid.*, part i.
3. *Ibid.*, part ii.
4. *Ibid.*, part iii.
5. *Ibid.*, part iv, pp. 211-255.

preserve substantially the same traditions and disciplinary rules, the only difference being that while the Sanskrit version reproduces stories and episodes extensively, the Pali version has avoided doing so as far as possible.

The Mahāvagga can well be described as the history of the development of the Buddhist Saṅgha. It opens with an account of the Buddha's life from the day he attained bodhi on the bank of the Nirañjanā and carries the story up to the conversion of Yaśa and his fifty-four friends including Vimala, Subāhu, Puṇṇaji and Gavampati who were despatched in different directions to preach the Dharma. However, these young, untrained missionaries were not capable of deciding on the type of persons fit for admission to the Saṅgha. For the guidance of such disciples, the Buddha laid down elaborate rules, as and when occasion arose, relating to the ordination of a newcomer.

The second chapter of the text is devoted to the institution of a fortnightly assembly, usually known as Uposatha (Poṣadha). If anyone was found guilty of a serious offence, he was not permitted to stay in this assembly. This had also been dealt with in the ninth chapter of the Cullavagga under the sub-heading, Pātimokkha-ṭhapanaṃ (laying aside, *i.e.*, not holding the Patimokkha assembly). One of the conditions of these assemblies was that all monks living within a parish must be present at the meeting held at a particular monastery. In case of sickness the monk concerned was required to depute a proxy, whose duty was to declare his faults of omission or commission if any. Strictness on this score led to the necessity of defining the boundaries of a parish, and so elaborate rules had to be laid down for the determination of such boundaries and such determination also had to be declared at a formal meeting of the Saṅgha by moving the resolution three times and having it passed unanimously.

The third and fourth chapters deal with the monk's residence during the rains and the ceremony to be performed at the close of the Vassāvāsa. The monks were asked to be generally itinerant as the chances of a lapse would be greater

if they resided at one place for a long time. But during the three months of the rainy season the monks were for many reasons directed to remain at a fixed abode. This practice was known as Vassāvāsa. It was also observed by the Jaina and other recluses of the Buddha's time. There were, however, some occasions which urgently needed the presence of a monk outside the limit of his abode. Accordingly, a monk was allowed to go outside his limits for one week. Lest the monks should misuse this privilege, specific purposes are mentioned for which this permission could be granted. This topic concludes with the enumeration of circumstances which justify the ending of the Vassāvāsa before the appointed time.

During the Vassāvāsa, the monks were expected to live in concord and observe the disciplinary rules. As this was not always possible, the Teacher prescribed that at the end of the Vassāvāsa the monks should meet in assembly and declare their acts of omission and commission. The formalities to be observed in the assembly are the same as those prescribed for the Uposatha ceremony. Such an assembly at the end of the Vassāvāsa was called Pavāraṇa. There are many instances of irregularities, to remedy which the Teacher framed several rules.

Part of the Pavāraṇā ceremony was the distribution of robes collected on the closing day. It was called the Kaṭhina ceremony.[1] On the day of Pavāraṇā, the laity offered unsewn cloth to the resident monks. It was laid down that if the Saṅgha received such offers, the monks were expected to meet and declare formally that they were going to celebrate the Kaṭhina ceremony. The main function of this ceremony was to entrust certain monks with the cutting, sewing and dyeing of the robes, and all this was to be finished in one day. When the robes were ready, they were distributed among the residents. There were, however, cases of doubtful claimants, and so rules were framed to determine who was really entitled to a share of the robes.

The fifth chapter opens with the story of Soṇa Koḷivisa,

1. See Mahāvagga, Chapter VII.

the son of a very wealthy man. His body was so delicate that hairs grew even on the soles of his feet. He was given ordination by the Teacher himself. As a monk he walked barefoot while performing religious exercises. His feet bled and stained the places he walked on. The Buddha then asked him to put on shoes but he demurred that as a monk it would not be proper for him to do so. This led the Buddha to allow the use of shoes to all monks and he prescribed certain forms of shoes that could be used by the monks.

The sixth chapter discusses the medicines permissible to sick monks and nuns. It relates how, at the instance of Jīvaka, the famous physician, the Buddha allowed the sick monks to have all the medical and surgical aids they required. This chapter contains a very interesting account of surgical operations and instruments, of drugs and their preparation, of containers and store-houses for medicines, and lastly, of medical aids such as hot baths and special diets which included fruit and fruit juice, milk products and sometimes meat broth. Reference is also made to Jīvaka's skill in surgery and medicine. An account of the visit of the Buddha to Pāṭaligāma, taken almost verbatim from the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, is also included.

Gradually the monks were permitted to enjoy not only medical aid but also many other amenities of life, which are detailed in the Cullavagga.

Detailed descriptions of monasteries fitted with doors, windows and other necessary adjuncts constructed by the laity for the use of the monks of the four quarters are given in the sixth chapter of the Cullavagga. The construction of the monasteries, according to the Vinaya rules, was supervised by a monk called Navakammika. These monasteries were furnished with seats and beds of an austere type. In this connection, the story of the gift of the Jetavana monastery has been introduced, and with it is given an account of how Anāthapiṇḍika met the Buddha at Rājagṛha and became a devotee.

In the fifth chapter of the Cullavagga there are several

directions relating to baths, the monk's begging bowls, scissors and needles, girdles, latrines, urinals, slings to carry bowls, shoes, hair-cutting, and so on. Incidentally it is mentioned that the monks must not sing the gāthās aloud, or exhibit the power of miracles if they possessed any, and should turn down their bowls at the houses of laymen who were not sufficiently respectful to the Triratna.

The last two chapters of the Mahāvagga are devoted to irregularities in ecclesiastical acts. A minimum number of monks is fixed for the performance of different ecclesiastical duties or acts.

As the Cullavagga is a continuation of the Mahāvagga, it takes up, in the first four chapters, the different punishments prescribed in the Vinaya-piṭaka and gives instructions as to how the monks should behave when undergoing punishment.

In the eighth chapter the resident monks of a monastery are instructed how to receive monks from other places or forests and to look after their comforts.

The seventh chapter is devoted to an account of the dissensions that were about to break out within the Saṅgha during the Buddha's lifetime. As Devadatta, a Śākyan relative of the Teacher, turned out to be the leader of the dissentient monks, the chapter gives, by way of an introduction, an account of the conversion of the Śākyan youths, namely, Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, sakyarāja, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila and Devadatta, and their barber, Upāli.

Devadatta joined hands with Ajātaśatru and made a heinous attempt on the Buddha's life by hiring a gang of ruffians, by using a stone, and an elephant. Devadatta at last found a few friends and demanded that the Saṅgha should make the following five rules compulsory for all monks, *viz.*, that the monks were (i) to live only in forests, (ii) to subsist on alms, (iii) to dress in robes made out of rags, (iv) to dwell under a tree and never under a roof, and (v) never to eat fish or flesh. When his demand was rejected by the Buddha, he formed a band of his own from amongst the Vajjiputtaka monks of Vesālī. The chapter concludes with

a note on the conditions in which an actual dissension in the Saṅgha would be regarded as a Saṅghabheda.[1]

The tenth chapter relates the story of the formation of the Order of nuns at the instance of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the mediation of Ānanda. The Buddha very reluctantly agreed to its formation and imposed eight disabilities (garudhammā) on the nuns. At first the Teacher wanted the nuns to depend on the monks for all their ecclesiastical acts, and also receive from them instruction on Vinaya as well as on Dhamma, but it was found that sometimes the monks were not wise and discreet in the discharge of their duties to the nuns. This led the Buddha to permit the nuns to perform most of their ecclesiastical acts themselves, and rules of procedure were laid down for them. In this chapter there are detailed instructions to check the frivolities of the female sex regarding dress, toilet, beds, seats, and so on.

The last two chapters, which, strictly speaking, should not have formed a part of the Cullavagga, contain a full description of the first two Councils, held at Sattapaṇṇiguhā of Rājagaha and Vālikārāma of Vesālī. The main object of the first two Councils was to make an authoritative compilation of the Buddha's sayings. It was presided over by Mahākassapa, Ānanda taking the responsibility of reciting the discourses delivered by the Buddha, and Upāli the disciplinary rules framed by the Teacher. This compilation was accepted by the monks in general with a few exceptions. The second Council was held a hundred years later. Its main purpose was to suppress the deviations made by the Vajjiputtaka monks of Vesālī in some of the disciplinary rules. The deviations were declared illegal by a committee of eight monks, of whom four were selected from the orthodox monks of the western countries and four from the dissident party of the eastern countries. Not all the monks, however, accepted the findings of this committee and a new sect, well known as the Mahāsaṅghikas, came into existence.

CHAPTER VIII

Buddhist Education

Education as one of the functions or activities of a State is a concept of purely modern growth. In Europe in olden times it was a function of the Christian Church; in India it was that of her diverse religious orders and organizations which devised their own educational systems. Of these, the Brahmanical system is the most ancient. Its educational tradition, dating back to the Vedic age and followed in this country up to the present time, is essentially based on an individual teacher with his small group of disciples and pupils—the *gurugṛha* (the Teacher's House) as it is termed. The tradition of the Buddhist system, on the other hand, is monastic: it functioned within the regimen of monastic life.

The difference is significant: it led in India to different lines of evolution. "The necessity of a domestic environment in the Brahmanical system", observes Prof. Mookerji, "did not favour the expansion of the small school under an individual teacher into a large educational federation, controlled by a collective body of teachers, as was the characteristic of the Buddhist system."[1] Hence the latter gave birth to those large-scale monastic universities, with thousands of teachers and students in the congregation, which during the last three to four centuries of Buddhism in India were famous all over Asia and attracted students from various parts of the continent. These latter-day universities

1. *Ancient Education*, 2nd ed., p. 460.

like Nalanda, Valabhī, Vikramaśilā,[1] Jagaddala and Odantapurī represent in fact the last term of an evolution that had continued for well over a millennium and a half. Its history comes to us through the centuries, dispersed and in glimpses, from early books of the Buddhist Canon, and then, with a vast yawning gap of many centuries, from Chinese and Tibetan records, sometimes, but rarely, cross-lighted by such casual information as is afforded by the colophons of manuscripts, mostly of Chinese and Tibetan provenance. Its history cannot be traced with any approach to completeness, but it is possible to trace and follow the main lines of evolution.

The history of Buddhist education really forms one aspect of the history of Buddhist monachism itself. It reflects in its process the inner intellectual life of the monasteries—the gradual and progressive enrichment of this life, its broadening and liberalizing effect over the course of the centuries, its unfolding and expansion. Starting as a system of training for a monk, it expands its scope and purpose under the impact of new intellectual needs and interests, finds new mental horizons, until the monastery becomes not just a place for cloistered meditation, but a seat of culture and learning. Some develop into universities. But this history, spanning nearly the whole duration of post-Vedic ancient India, comes to an end, abruptly and definitely, in the closing years of the twelfth century A.D. The conquests of Bukhtyar Khilji in eastern India (Bihar and Bengal) put finis to the long, long story.

1. The name is also written as Vikramaśilā. See Prof. H. D. Sankalia, *The University of Nalanda*, p. 181, where it is said, "owing, according to some writers, to the high moral character of its monks, and also because of its being the site where a certain Yakṣa or genius of the name Vikrama was suppressed, it was called Vikramaśīlā. Also see Phanindranath Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities* (1923), p. 33; Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan, *Indian Logic : Mediaeval School* (1909), Appendix 'C', p. 150, reads Vikramaśilā, although footnotes 2 and 3 read (1) Vikramaśila-deva Mahā vihāriya, and (2) Vikramaśilasi Vihāre, respectively.

General Editor.

THE BEGINNINGS

The Training of a Monk

When the Buddhists first settled down to cenobitical life in the monasteries—probably in the 4th century B.C.—the question arose of training the neophyte who had been ordained and had joined a monastery. The system was known as Nissaya, meaning, literally, dependence on a teacher. The Nissaya period was one of learning and novitiate which preceded the attainment of the full status of a monk and it is sometimes called by the same term, brahmacarya as is used in Brahmanical books for the student period of a man's life. It was a system which reproduced within the communal monastic life the pre-Buddhistic Brahmanical 'small school' or 'teacher and a group of pupils' system. A learned, competent person joining a monastery might, as it is laid down, live in Nissaya for a period of five years only, while another might do so all his life. A neophyte used to have at his ordination a spiritual guide who was called Upajjhāya, and a regular instructor called Ācārya who had to be a senior monk of at least ten years' standing.

In the age we are speaking of, literacy in the modern sense did not exist and all teaching had to be imparted by word of mouth and retained in the memory. This is clearly proved by the total lack of mention of any manuscript or writing material among the personal belongings of a monk listed in the Vinaya-piṭaka. In fact, the writing of books, apart from brief lithic or copper-plate inscriptions for official use, came much later—probably not before the first century B.C. The monk instructor (Ācārya) took his small class informally: we may visualize how from a piece of much defaced sculpture in the archaeological museum at Mathura. The teacher is seen in it with a parasol over his head held at an angle in the left hand, discoursing to a small group of novices who squat in front of him in various postures of attention on the bare ground and under the open sky.

The teacher's discourses no doubt related to the monkish learning of the age—the monastic *regula* (Vinaya), the holy legends (the making of which seems to have been a continuous literary industry in the convents over several centuries), the Buddhist moral fables (Jātakas), hymnology and fundamental doctrines. The teaching was reinforced by the practice of frequent recitation of the texts and their chanting by the whole congregation in chorus on special occasions (saṅgīti). The object was to fix the texts of the Canon in the memory.

The unwritten canonical lore which formed the exclusive subject-matter of a novice's education had a standard twofold division into Dhamma (the religion as set forth and expounded in the suttas, the Lord's discourses) and Vinaya (the rules of monastic life as laid down by the Lord). In the better class of monasteries there were specialists in both the divisions: they were called suttantikas and vinaya-dharas respectively. Besides, there were specialists in particular portions, *e.g.*, mātikā-dharas, who specialized in mātikās or formularies.

The earnestness in the study of the Canon by the early generations of monks is reflected for us by a small incident inset in the Canon itself. A solemn ceremony in the monasteries was the Pavāraṇā which marked the end of the period of rain retreat (vassā). But on one occasion, as is reported, this ceremony had to be cut short because the best part of the previous night had been sleeplessly spent by the monks in study and debate—some reciting the Dhamma: the suttantikas propounding the suttantas, the vinaya-dharas discussing the Vinaya, and the dhamma-kathikas conversing about the Dhamma.[1]

The expression, Dhamma-kathika, is intriguing. It will be noticed that the word, Dhamma, occurs twice in the passage referred to—first, in the general sense of religion, in the phrase, 'Turning the Wheel of the Dhamma', and, secondly, in the more specialized sense of Doctrine. Kathā

1. Mahāvagga (in the Vinaya-piṭaka), IV, 15,4.

was a discourse or debate specifically on the doctrines of the Religion.[1]

These Kathās or Debates on Doctrines seem to have been an important and significant feature of monastic education in those early days. Out of these debates a methodology seems to have evolved; it is known as the Abhidhamma which is explained as the 'doctrinal explication of the special meanings of the texts'. The substance of these Kathās was collected in a number of text-books which were included subsequently in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka of the Canon. It was by no means a one-way traffic of the mind, for it is laid down that while the teacher must be one who is apt in "instructing the pupil in what pertains to the Dhamma, in what pertains to the Vinaya, in discussing or making another discuss, according to the Dhamma, a false doctrine that might arise",[2] the pupil at the same time is enjoined to "combat by discussion any false doctrine that the teacher might take to or to get others to do it".[3]

This is the outline of the initial mode of Buddhist education as presented in the Vinaya-piṭaka section of the Canon. It was meant exclusively for the ordained; was based on the cloistered learning of the age - inbred and closed except for one important opening.

This was the unrestricted freedom to argue, to dispute and to debate allowed to every qualified monk in a monastic fraternity: each was expected to think, reason and decide for himself in all matters relating to both the Dhamma and the Vinaya. There were procedural rules for the formal submission of points of controversy to the judgment of the corporate body of monks (Saṅgha). But even the verdict of the Saṅgha, which was based under the Saṅgha constitution

1. The great polemical work of the Aśokan age, dealing with doctrines, is titled Kathā-vatthu (Matters of Kathās or Doctrinal Debates). In a canonical legend (Mahāgosiṅga-sutta), two monks are referred to as holding an Abhidhamma-kathā, putting questions to one another, furnishing answers and not collapsing but gaining edification by their discussions.

2. Mahāvagga, i, 36,12.

3. Mahāvagga, i, 25,20.

on majority opinion ascertained by ballot voting (śalākā), was not allowed to stifle individual conviction: the dissidents were allowed under the rules to form a party. While this state of affairs in monastic life and community tended to stimulate, sharpen and put a premium on independent thinking and intellectual ability, it became also the seed bed of the sectarianism which is so prominent a feature of Buddhist history. Buddhism embraces almost countless sects and sub-sects, each in its origin representing a fresh current of thought, a new movement of the monk mind.

Monasteries as Seats of Learning

The Intellectual Bias

In the above sketch of the primitive system of a monk's training, the emphasis is noticeably on making a monk intellectually keen. This particular emphasis grew in Buddhist monasticism until many monasteries began to function as seats of learning rather than as mere shelters for a sequestered spiritual culture. We find that Chinese pilgrims like Fa-Hien and Yuan Chwang, while describing many of the monasteries they visited, record among a monastery's past traditions the name of some renowned scholar monk who composed some great work while in residence there. It is a pointer to a fresh development in the character of the monasteries, their growth as seats of learning and scholarship, which probably became apparent in the 1st century A.D. or perhaps even earlier.

The actual predisposing conditions for this development are not far to seek: in the first place, Buddhism was a proselytizing religion that sought and welcomed converts; in the second, the Buddhist monasteries had to depend for their existence on princely patronage or popular support of which the monastic community had to prove itself deserving.

Occasions for proving it lay in an ancient traditional institution in the history of India's culture, the holding of assemblies or conventions of the learned for discussion and debate between sect and sect of the same religion or

between representatives of rival religious systems. There are outstanding historical examples of this peculiarly Indian institution—both early and late—in remote Vedic times, as well as in the reign of Aśoka (3rd century B.C.) and in that of Harsa (7th century A.D.) and later. It was perhaps for this reason that the urge developed in the Buddhist system of education for dialectical skill and ability in argumentation. In a well-known Buddhist Sanskrit work of *circa* 400 A.D., for example, we find included a complete treatise on the rules and principles of debate.[1] In the history of Indian logic, the 'Mediaeval School' is almost wholly represented by Buddhist scholar monks whose works, lost in India, were discovered in Tibetan by Pandit S. C. Vidyabhushan in the early years of the present century.[2]

An important feature—and one of far-reaching cultural consequence—in the process of development of the monasteries into seats of learning was the dissolution of the inbred and cloistered character of their old monastic learning. No longer was the Canon of Buddhism the end all and be all of a monk's study. The monks were trained in more varied cultural subjects—in the tenets of other faiths, in systems of philosophy (of course, within the framework of Buddhist thought) and, at some monasteries, even in subjects of merely pragmatic importance like agriculture and architecture, useful for the proper lay-out, construction and upkeep of monastic establishments. After the first century B.C., when the *writing* of books came into vogue, they were collected and preserved in the monasteries and were the precursors of the splendid manuscript libraries of universities like Nalanda and Vikramaśīlā of a later age.

But the 'seats of learning' kept up throughout their own monastic character, imposing on the inmates the rules of monastic life, although from references in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims it clearly appears that admission was

1. Saptadaśabhūmi-śāstra (Nanjio 1170), by Maitreya, deals in its fifteenth volume with the Art of Debate in seven chapters.

2. *Indian Logic: Mediaeval School*, by S. C. Vidyabhushan (1907).

open not only to monks of different Buddhist sects, but also to unordained seekers after Buddhist learning, even presumably to non-Buddhists. The latter are designated for the sake of distinction as Māṇavas (commoners) and Brahmacārīs (students). For the benefits of residence and learning in a monastery, there could of course be no question of payment.

Maintenance and Endowment

Gifts to monasteries had always been regarded by princes and people alike as an act of spiritual merit. A king who favoured Buddhism might assign the revenue of a village or a group of villages for the permanent upkeep of a monastery whose site and buildings had possibly been the donation of a merchant prince or of wealthy lay devotees. Thus many monasteries grew rich, had fine buildings and assembly halls, overflowing granaries and considerable immovable assets. A number of single monasteries, lying close to each other, was sometimes gathered within a circuit wall, forming a unitary establishment.

Fa-Hien describes how kings and 'heads of the Vaiśyas', by which he meant leading merchants, would build Vihāras (monasteries) for monks and endow them with fields, houses, gardens, orchards and cattle, in co-operation with the resident population. Royal grants to monasteries used to be "engraved on plates of metal and were handed down from king to king without anyone daring to annul them". "When a king makes his offerings to a community of monks, he takes off his royal cap and, along with his relatives and ministers, supplies them with food with his own hands." "The families of people supply the societies of these monks with an abundant sufficiency of what they require so that there is no lack or stint." Many monasteries, late in the seventh century, had in fact become so wealthy that the Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing, visiting them in the closing decades of that century, strikes a rather censorious note. "It is unseemly", he observes, "for a monastery to have too great

wealth, granaries full of rotten corn, many servants, male and female, money and treasures hoarded without use in the treasury."

Chinese Pilgrims and their Testimony

Fa-Hien in the early part of the fifth century visited two monasteries at Pāṭaliputra which were typical of what some of the greater monasteries in different parts of the country were in the process of becoming. One of them, described by him as "very grand and beautiful", was a Mahāyānist monastery, while the other was a Hīnayānist one. Together they housed six to seven hundred monks. He speaks thus of these two establishments: "The rules of demeanour and the scholastic arrangements in them are worthy of observation. Śramaṇas (monks) of the highest virtue from all quarters, and students, enquirers wishing to find out the truth and the grounds thereof, all resort to these monasteries."

Their academic aspect seems thus to have struck even Fa-Hien who was more of a pious pilgrim than an eager scholar in search of learning in India as was his successor, Yuan Chwang. This aspect of the monasteries seems to have developed during the two centuries that separate Fa-Hien and Yuan Chwang. It grew into prominence: monks from different parts of the country came to some of them to write books, to study and to learn, and their fame as seats of learning spread to other Buddhist lands, attracting scholar pilgrims, chiefly Chinese, who have left us invaluable eye-witness accounts of some Mahāvihāras (great monastic establishments) that functioned as centres in India and as radiating foci to other lands of Buddhist culture and learning.

The whole of China, both North and South, had by 500 A.D. embraced Buddhism. To quote Fitzgerald, "Buddhist rites and ceremonies were everywhere practised; temples and monasteries had arisen in every district; priests and nuns were numerous and highly respected."[1] But

1. *Short Cultural History of China*, p. 276.

Buddhism in China at the time was strongly adulterated with Taoist beliefs and practices. It was therefore felt by the Buddhist monks of China of that era that they must turn to the homeland of Buddhism in order to reform and purify Chinese Buddhism—to collect original scriptures and learn the proper rites and ceremonies. This, apart from the spiritual benefit of pilgrimage, was the motive that started a stream of intrepid Chinese scholar monks on the long trek to India, thousands of miles over deserts and mountains. According to the findings of a modern Chinese historian, as many as 162, out of the number of Chinese pilgrims who went out to India during the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th centuries, can be traced from Chinese sources of information.[1] The 'records' (*Ki* in Chinese) of only three of them have been explored and translated by Sinologists—those of Fa-Hien, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, covering the periods 405—411 A.D., 629—646 A.D. and 671—695 A.D. respectively.

Monastic Universities

Nalanda and Valabhī

During the period of his stay in India, Yuan Chwang, who was a learned Mahāyānist monk, studied Indian philosophy, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, at several monasteries, singly or under Indian teachers of contemporary renown. He makes special mention of two educational establishments that were pre-eminent in India, Nalanda and Valabhī, in eastern and western India respectively. The latter, which was a centre of Hīnayāna Buddhism, does not seem to have attracted Mahāyānist scholars much, but of Nalanda he has left a detailed description which is supplemented with further details by his disciple and biographer,

1. Prof. Liang Chi-chao. His researches in Chinese history, which remain untranslated still, are summarized in a paper, 'Chinese Sources of Indian History', contributed by Dr. Lo Lia-chuen to the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission in December, 1948. Dr. Lo, an eminent Chinese scholar, now serving in the Government of Formosa, was China's Ambassador to India in 1945-50.

Hwui-Li. At Nalanda, Yuan Chwang studied the Yoga philosophy under the head of that institution, Śīlabhadra, for five years or more. With its full complement of schools of studies, lecture halls, libraries, regulations for admission and attendance at lectures, conduct and discipline (with prescribed penalties for a breach of these), and a complete system of academic administration, it was a full-fledged monastic university of immense size. Its magnitude can be judged from Yuan Chwang's report that the number of teachers was 1,500 and of learners 10,000, though the figure seems to have come down later, in I-tsing's time, to a little over 3,000.

It is said that as many as one hundred chairs or pulpits were daily arranged for the lectures and discussions. The range of studies covered subjects of both Buddhist and Brahmanical learning, both sacred and secular, and the learners had to make their choice among them. Yuan Chwang's life by Hwui-Li gives us an idea of the subjects studied at Nalanda. He says (p. 112): "The priests belonging to the convent (of Nalanda) or strangers (residing therein) always number 10,000 and all study the Great Vehicle, as well as the works belonging to the eighteen sects, and not only so, but even ordinary works such as the Vedas and other books, the Hetuvidyā, the Śabdavidyā, the Cikitsāvidyā, the works on magic (Atharva Veda), and the Sāṅkhya; besides, they thoroughly investigate the 'miscellaneous' works. There are 1,000 men who can explain 20 collections of sūtras and śāstras; 500 who can explain 30 collections and perhaps ten men, including the Master of the Law, who can explain fifty collections. Śīlabhadra alone has studied and understood the whole number."

In Chapter XXXIV of his *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, I-tsing also gives us information about the method of learning followed in Indian educational establishments. Sanskrit grammar was always one of the basic studies of a scholar. I-tsing says: "The old translators (of Sanskrit into Chinese) seldom tell us the rules of Sanskrit language...I

trust that now a thorough study of Sanskrit grammar may clear up many difficulties we encounter whilst engaged in translation."[1] He goes on to describe the systematic way in which the study of grammar was conducted. It is clear from commentaries such as those of Yaśomitra that Pāṇini's grammar formed a part of the basic training of a young scholar. I-tsing mentions the grammatical works a scholar was required to study. These include the following: Pāṇini's sūtras, Dhātupāṭha, Aṣṭadhātu, Uṇādi-sūtras, Kāśikāvṛtti, Cūrṇi (perhaps the same as Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya), Bhartṛhari's Śāstra, Vākyapadīya and Pei-na or Beḍāvṛtti. He further adds that young scholars "devote themselves to logic (Hetuvidyā) and metaphysics (Abhidharma-kośa). In learning the Nyāya-dvāra-tarka-śāstra, they rightly draw inferences (anumāna); and by studying the Jātaka-mālā their powers of comprehension increase".[2] He goes on to say: "The priests learn besides all the Vinaya works and investigate the sūtras and śāstras as well. They oppose the heretics as they would drive beasts (deer) in the middle of a plain and explain away disputations as boiling water melts frost."[3] He also adds, "In India, there are two traditional ways in which one can attain to great intellectual power. Firstly, by repeatedly committing to memory the intellect is developed; secondly, the alphabet fixes one's ideas. In this way, after a practice of ten days, a scholar feels his thoughts rise like a fountain, and can commit to memory whatever he has once heard (not requiring to be told twice). This is far from being a myth, for I myself have met such men."[4]

At the conclusion of the curriculum, academic degrees were granted according to the supplicant's status and qualifications. The daily time-table was regulated by means of a clepsydra (water clock), a contraption consisting of a large

1. *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 168.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-77.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83.

bowl of water with a smaller perforated one floating in it, each immersion of the smaller bowl indicating a quarter of an hour which was announced by one stroke on a drum. A working day for teachers and students was eight hours.

Nalanda became famous for its 'Schools of Discussion': indeed, they harked back to a more ancient and established tradition of monastic education—to the Kathās, an institution of primitive monasteries as we have seen. The Schools attracted learners not only from all over India, but also from the Far East and later from Tibet. "Learning and discussing," says Yuan Chwang, "they find the day too short." The uninhibited scope and freedom of these discussions at Nalanḍa and also at all other monastic universities must be counted as a great contributory factor in that process of fusion of Brahmanical and Buddhistic thought and culture which makes it so intriguing a feature of the final period of the history of ancient Indian culture.

Traditional legends of the vast manuscript wealth of Nalanda's libraries come from Tibetan sources, from Lama Tārānātha and other Tibetan writers on the history of Buddhism, belonging to the 17th and 18th centuries. A whole area of the campus was, according to the Tibetan writers, set apart for the libraries and was covered with huge, many-storeyed library buildings, three of which had the fancy names of Ratnadadhi (Sea of Jewels), Ratnasāgara (Ocean of Jewels) and Ratnaranjaka (Jewel-adorned), the first-named edifice being nine-storeyed. The Tibetan legend is that these great libraries were reduced to ashes by the deliberate act of an infuriated incendiary, a Turuṣka (Turk).

Nalanda, founded as a monastery centuries before, must have touched its peak of fame as a university some time in the 6th century, between the time of Fa-Hien and that of Yuan Chwang and continued to function, though dimmed perhaps by the rising glory of the University of Vikramaśīlā, situated within a measurable distance of Nalanda, for about three centuries after. It certainly did not survive the Muhammadan invasion of Bihar, about 1197 A.D., which,

as we know from the contemporary account of Minhaz, was attended with the wholesale massacre of 'shaven-headed priests', as the Buddhist monks were described.[1]

Architecturally, Nalanda was probably the grandest and most magnificent of all monastic establishments in the 7th century A.D. in India. We have not only Yuan Chwang's testimony for it, but also a descriptive reference in an inscription of King Yaśovarman of the following century which mentions Nalanda's 'rows of monasteries with their series of turrets, licking the clouds'. Hwui-Li and Yuan Chwang provide more details. "All outside courts, in which the priests' chambers are located are of four stages. Each stage has dragon-like projections and coloured eaves, pearl (jewel?)-red pillars carved and ornamented, richly adorned balustrades, etc., while the roofs are covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades. These things add to the beauty of the scene. The Saṅghārāmas (monastic establishments) of India are counted by myriads, but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height." (Hwui-Li.) "In this establishment, the work of successive kings, the sculpture is perfect and really beautiful." (Yuan Chwang.) The natural surroundings in which this grand masterpiece of architecture was situated, made a perfect setting. The grounds were variegated with ponds with a great profusion of blue lotuses, and to their exquisite blue the *kanaka* flowers springing up everywhere joined their deep red, while the mango-groves chequered the landscape with their grateful shade. Of all this natural and man-made beauty of Nalanda nothing remains now but mouldering mounds, scattered debris and broken stone images here and there. The archaeologists have been busy with spade and shovel over them.

The village of Bargaon, a few miles from Rājagṛha (Rājgir in Bihar State), is the site of Nalanda. It has been excavated by archaeologists and the finds are housed in a museum on the site. Among these finds is the official seal of

1. See *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* (Raverty's translation), p. 552.

the University, engraved on stone, with the wheel of Dhamma, flanked with a gazelle on either side, bearing the inscription: 'Venerable Community of Monks of the Nalanda Mahāvihāra'. The seal proves the University to have been a unitary organization comprising a number of vihāras (monasteries), built, as we know from Yuan Chwang's account, in different centuries—such an organization being known as a Mahāvihāra (Great Monastic Establishment).

The other pre-eminent Mahāvihāra, spoken of by both Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, was at Valabhī in western India. I-tsing reports Nalanda and Valabhī to be the two places in India where it was usual for scholars to reside for two or three years to complete their education. Valabhī seems to have been in that century the largest Hīnayānist establishment in India, as Nalanda was the largest Mahāyānist.

Vikramaśīlā

Nalanda and Valabhī figure in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims of the seventh century. However, there were other Buddhist universities that flourished after the heyday of these older universities and they functioned right down to the Muhammadan conquest of Bihar and Bengal. We know about them from Tibetan sources—from Tārānātha's description in his 'History of Indian Buddhism' (early 18th century and other minor historiographical works and from mention of them in the colophons of a number of manuscripts recovered from Tibet. The greatest and most famous of them was Vikramaśīlā.

The monasteries of Vikramaśīlā were situated on a 'bluff hill'[1] on the right bank of the Ganga 'where the Holy River flows northwards'. The site cannot be definitely identified: perhaps it was washed away long ago by the river's erosion. It was in its peak period under the patronage of the Buddhist Pāla kings of Bengal—a grand and stately establishment with six noble gates, each guarded by a scholar officer of the Uni-

1. This fact is taken to be a justification for the spelling Vikramaśīlā.

versity who bore the designation of 'Gatekeeper Scholar' (Dvāra-paṇḍita). The University granted the degree of Paṇḍita, equivalent to Master of Arts.

The fame and prestige of Vikramaśīlā in Tibetan records is due perhaps in a large measure to its association with the great name of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñana (980—1053 A.D.), a renowned scholar, who, after finishing his education at Odantapurī, became the head of the University of Vikramaśīlā in 1034—38 A.D., migrated to Tibet at the invitation of its king and led a movement for the reform of Buddhism, then the State religion in that country.

He was nearing his sixties and was the head of Vikramaśīlā, when he received the Tibetan king's invitation and was persuaded by the king's emissaries, though much against his will, to undertake this strenuous and difficult mission. The tale of his journey to Tibet across the Himalayas through the winding, windswept *las* (mountain passes), his grand and colourful reception at the capital, his organizing work and cultural propaganda are all described with many quaint yet realistic details in a life of Atiśa (Dīpaṅkara's Tibetan name), still current among scholars in Tibet, written by Dīpaṅkara's chief Tibetan disciple, Nagtcho[1]. After thirteen years of missionary work in that country of severe cold and difficult terrain, he died, full of years and honours, at an obscure place in the interior called Nethan. His tomb still stands there: a description and pictograph of it will be found in *Lhasa and its Mysteries* (1905) by Captain Waddel who paid a visit to the tomb at the turn of this century.

Dīpaṅkara is the founder of Lamaism in Tibet and he has been deified in Tibet under his Tibetan name. At Ghoom near Darjeeling (in West Bengal) there is a secluded Tibetan monastery where, among the monstrous Tāntric divinities of the Lamaist pantheon, a solitary, humanized stone image of Atiśa may be seen.

1. An abridged English version of the important parts of this work is given in Sarat Chandra Das's book, now rare, entitled *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (1893).

Jagaddala and Odantapurī

The Buddhist Pāla kings of Bengal were patrons of learning. King Rāmapāla who reigned between 1084 and 1130 A.D. built a new capital for his kingdom at the junction of the Ganga and one of its deltaic tributaries, the Karatoa, and christened it Rāmāvatī. Here he established a Buddhist university called Jagaddala. It functioned for barely a century and a half and was swept away by the violence of the Muslim invasion of Bihar. But during this comparatively brief period, it produced a number of famous scholars whose names are known to us from the colophons of their works, both in Sanskrit and in Tibetan.

Odantapurī, where at one time a thousand monks were in residence, existed before the Pāla dynasty, but it was under the Pāla kings that it throve as a university, munificently endowed and much enlarged. It is said that the first Buddhist monastery built in Tibet was modelled on Odantapurī.

The tradition of Nalanda was carried on by these Buddhist universities of later days, functioning till the eve of the Muslim conquest, and it seems that thereafter a good many scholars migrated from their ruins to Tibet and wrote some of their works there. They are included in the Tibetan encyclopaedia of Buddhist works, some in original Tibetan and others in translations from the Sanskrit. The Tibetan script itself was fashioned by Dīpaṅkara out of the old Indian script and the migrating scholars had little difficulty in acquiring the Tibetan language and in writing in its script.

Conclusion

From the foundation of the first Buddhist monasteries until the extinction of Buddhism as an organized religion in India, the system of Buddhist education passed through an evolution of many centuries, of which the last term is represented by the great monastic universities of Chinese and Tibetan fame. The story goes back to well over fifteen centuries.

The system remained monastic throughout: it was regulated and conditioned by the rules and by the ethos of monastic life. A time came, however, when the emphasis latent in primitive Buddhism, on intellectual ability and the urge to know, to think and to reason for onself seems to have outweighed the original purpose of secluded spiritual cultivation. Slowly the convent was transformed: it developed in the course of centuries into a seat of learning, a means of scholarship, a place where the faculties were sharpened for the understanding of the Dhamma and meditation. The learning naturally outgrew its original confinement to the texts of the Buddhist Canon: it became larger and more liberal; it took in both sacred and secular subjects; it enabled the Buddhist scholar monk to hold his own among the rivalries of sects and systems. But it had also the effect of producing subtle and gradual changes in the old framework and cast of Buddhist thought, introducing into it new elements from outside.

By a perfectly natural transition, these 'seats of learning' developed, though never foregoing their original monastic character, into educational seminaries where admission was thrown open not only to monks but also to other seekers after knowledge, irrespective of sect, religious denomination and nationality. They partook of the character of the *studium generale* of mediaeval Europe, and from the fifth or sixth century onwards, several of them were organized as universities and functioned as such.

Of them, the University of Nalanda is highlighted in the *Si-yu-ki* (Western World Record) of Yuan Chwang who himself was one of its most distinguished *alumni*, respected and honoured both in India and in China. The fame of Nalanda and other Buddhist universities spread over all the Buddhist lands of Asia through the works and achievements of the eminent scholars they produced.

Yuan Chwang took home with him many hundreds of bundles of manuscripts and devoted the rest of his life to translating into Chinese as many of them as he could with

the help of devoted collaborators. He was also the founder of one of the Ten Schools of Chinese Buddhism—the Fa-hsiang school which claims the Nalanda scholar, Śīla-bhadra, Yuan Chwang's instructor at that university, as its initiator. A contemporary and fellow student of Yuan Chwang at Nalanda was a Tibetan scholar, named Thonmi Sambhota, who in his own country had been Minister to the Tibetan king. He had been commissioned by the king, who, having had a Chinese Buddhist wife, was inclined towards Buddhism, to study that religion at its source in India. He went back to the Tibetan court after a course of study at Nalanda to report on what he had learnt. The king was converted and Buddhism for the first time was declared the State religion of Tibet. A few centuries later, Dīpaṅkara went from the University of Vikramaśīlā and gave the religion its present Lamaist organization.

Thus the outflow of influence from the Indian Buddhist universities led not only to the propagation of knowledge and appreciation of the teachings and tenets of Buddhism in other Asian lands, but also to certain historic reforms there.

CHAPTER IX

Some Great Buddhists after Aśoka

A. In India

Rulers : *Menander, Kaniṣka, Harṣa*

After Aśoka the torch of Buddhism was kept burning by the efforts of Milinda (Menander), Kaniṣka, Harṣa and the rulers of the Pāla dynasty (750—1150 A.D.). Menander, the Indo-Greek king, was a great patron and supporter of Buddhism. During the two centuries that followed the decline of the power of the imperial Mauryas, the Greek invaders held suzerainty over north-western India and Afghanistan. Some thirty rulers flourished during this period, of whom only King Menander has left a permanent impress on the Indian mind. This is evidently due to his association with the Dhamma.

King Menander figures as one of the characters in the Pali book, Milinda-pañha or 'Questions of Milinda'. The name Milinda is an adaptation of the Greek word Menandros. Ancient authors used various other Indian forms of the Greek King's name. Thus, in Kśemendra's Avadāna-kalpalatā, he has been given the name Milindra which is the same as that found in the Bstan-ḥgyur collection (popularly known as Tanjur) of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The Shinkot casket inscription in the Kharoṣṭhī script gives his name as Menadra. The chief sources from which information may be gathered about this Indo-Greek king are the Milinda-pañha, the accounts of Greek historians such as Strabo, Plutarch and Justin, and the coins of King Menander himself, bearing the inscription *Basileus Soteros Menandros,* which have been found in twenty-two different places in the

valleys of the Kabul and the Sindh and in the western districts of Uttar Pradesh.

There is a great divergence of opinion among the scholars concerning the date of King Menander. According to Smith, he flourished in the middle of the second century B.C. H. C. Raychaudhuri places him in the first century B.C. In the Milinda-pañha it is stated, *Parinibbānato pañcavassasate atikkante*, which means that King Milinda lived 500 years after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the Greek king reigned in or about the first century B.C., which is also borne out by other facts.

In the Milinda-pañha Menander (Milinda) has been described as the king of the Yonakas—*Yonakānaṃ rājā Milindo.* The Pali word Yonaka or Yona (Skt. Yavana) is the same as the old Persian word Yauna, meaning originally Ionian Greeks, but later the Greeks in general. The lands of the Yonas and the Kambojas were known to Indians in the sixth century B.C. as is evidenced by the Assalāyana suttanta of the Majjhima-nikāya which states that the people of these regions had only two varṇas or social grades, *viz.*, the Ārya and the Dāsa instead of the four classes of Indian society. It is a well-known fact that after the third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputra, Buddhist missionaries were sent to the distant Yona country comprising the realms of Antiochos II of Syria, Antigonos Gonatos of Macedonia, etc., as mentioned in the second and the thirteenth rock edicts of Aśoka. It is also stated that the Greek bhikkhu named Dhammarakkhita—Yona Dhammarakkhita—was deputed to the Aparantaka country to preach the Dhamma there. It is thus clear that the blessed teachings of the Buddha had begun to appeal to the Greek mind even before the time of Menander whom we first see as obsessed with doubts and dilemmas about the teachings of the Buddha and then as a devout Buddhist ruler propagating the teachings of the Buddhist religion when his doubts and misgivings had been removed by the Venerable Nāgasena.

It is stated in the Milinda-pañha that Milinda was born

in a village named Kalasi (Kalasigāmo) in the dīpa or Doab of Alasanda,[1] *i.e.*, Alexandria (modern Kandahar). His capital was at Sāgala, which is the same as Sangal of the Greek historian Arrian and the Sāgal or Euthumedeia of Ptolemy. This city is identified with the modern Sialkot in the Panjab. Menander's dominions comprised Peshawar, the upper Kabul valley, the Panjab, Sindh, Kathiawar and western Uttar Pradesh.

Menander was a well-informed scholar and a keen debater. He was well versed in various branches of learning and expert in argument. He wanted to understand the true essence of Buddhism which raised for him several difficulties and knotty problems. He approached many teachers, but none could solve his difficulties. Keen seeker of truth as he was, Menander was greatly disheartened by this. He exclaimed, "Empty, alas, is all India. All India is but vain gossip. There is no ascetic or brāhmaṇa who is capable of disputing with me and solving my doubts."[2] It was by a fortunate chance that one day he saw a Buddhist monk named Nāgasena going on his begging round. The calm and serene personality of the sage had a silent but powerful influence on the king's mind. Next day, in the company of five hundred Yonakas, he went to the Saṅkheyya monastery at Sāgal where the monk was staying at that time. They had a conversation which, at the request of the king, was later resumed at the palace. The monk who was no ordinary teacher told the king that he was agreeable to a discussion only if it was held in the scholastic way (Paṇḍitavāda) and not in the royal way (Rājavāda). The king paid homage to the teacher in a fitting manner and put his difficulties one by one before the sage who ably solved them all to the king's entire satisfaction. On this celebrated dialogue which the king had with the monk is based the Milinda-pañha which is considered to be the most notable book in the non-canonical Pali literature of Early Buddhism, cited by Buddhaghosa

1. Milinda, 82.
2. Milinda, 5,21.

as an authority. It is not possible for us here to go into the details of the topics discussed in this book. Suffice it to say that the deepest spiritual problem with which the king was confronted was his inability to understand how the Buddha could believe in rebirth without believing in a re-incarnating self or ego. This knotty problem has been solved by the Venerable Nāgasena in a masterly way in this book for all time. At the end of the conversation which lasted for some days, the king expressed his gratitude to the monk for having resolved all his doubts. He was filled with spiritual joy and took refuge in the Three Jewels and entreated Nāgasena to accept him as an upāsaka from that day onward as long as he lived. *Upāsakaṃ maṃ bhante Nāgasena dhāretha ajjatagge pāṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gataṃ ti.*[1] The king who was now a convert to Buddhism built a monastery named Milinda-vihāra and handed it over to Nāgasena. He also made large donations to the Bhikṣu-saṅgha. According to the Milinda-pañha, King Menander died a Buddhist monk having retired from the world after handing over his kingdom to his son. He is also said to have attained to Arhatship (arhattaṃ) which is the last stage of sanctification according to Theravāda Buddhism.[2]

Plutarch, the Greek historian, says that Menander's death occurred in a camp and there was a dispute among several Indian cities for the possession of his ashes which were divided and a memorial erected in each. We know that exactly the same thing had happened at the time of Lord Buddha's parinirvāṇa. It is also significant that the coins of Menander bear the Buddhist wheel (dharmacakra). This is an unmistakable sign that he was a devout Buddhist. The Shinkot inscription proves beyond a doubt that the Greek king helped in the propagation of Buddhism in the region between the Hindukush and Sindh.[3] Plutarch says that

1. Milinda, 420.
2. Milinda, 420.
3. *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, 2nd ed., 1953), Vol. II, pp. 112-115; also Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (6th ed., 1953), p. 382.

as a ruler Menander had a keen sense of justice and was dearly loved by his people.[1] Though the power he had established in India disappeared with his death, the memory of this just and wise Buddhist ruler will for ever remain enshrined in the pages of the Milinda-pañha as in his own coins bearing the dharmacakra.

After Milinda there comes another name in Indian history which is equally illustrious among the rulers of India and in the Buddhist tradition. This is the name of Kaniṣka who completed the work of Aśoka and helped in the triumphant spread of the Buddha-dharma throughout Asia. Kaniṣka belonged to the Kuṣāṇa (Kuei-Shuang) branch of the Yueh-chi tribe which originally inhabited parts of Chinese Turkestan (modern Sinkiang). The first Kuṣāṇa chief who occupied territories in India was Kadphises I (Kujul-Kasa) who was a Buddhist. Some of his coins which have been found in the Kharoṣṭhī script at the excavations at Taxila bear the inscription. *Kujul-Kasasa Kusana-Yavugasa dharma-ṭhidasa*, *i.e.*, 'of Kujul Kasa, the Kuṣāṇa chief, who is steadfast in the Dharma'. That by the word 'Dharma' is meant here the Buddhist religion is made clear by some other coins which have the words *sacca dharma-ṭhita* (steadfast in the true Dharma) instead of *dharma-ṭhita*. It was in the line of such an illustrious forefather that Kaniṣka came to rule India in the last quarter of the first century A.D.

Kaniṣka's reign (78—101 A.D.) also marks a turning point in the history of Buddhism and Buddhist literature. It witnessed the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the magnificent literary activity started by Pārśva, Aśvaghoṣa, Vasumitra, and others. It was in this age that Pali gave place to Sanskrit. In the field of art, the celebrated Gandhāra sculptures developed and figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas began to appear. It was during Kaniṣka's reign and largely through his efforts that Buddhism was successfully introduced into Central and Eastern Asia. There was ceaseless missionary activity throughout his vast empire which extended from

1. See footnote 3 on p. 198.

Madhyadeśa in India to Central Asia. A truly integrated Asian culture came into existence at this time, based as it was on the highest purposes of life for which Buddhism stood.

The story of Kaniṣka's conversion to Buddhism followed the same lines as that of Aśoka. It is said that the Yueh-chi monarch in his early life had no respect for the Buddhist religion. He did not believe in Karma, and treated Buddhism with contumely.[1] It was his remorse at the bloodshed during his conquests of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan that drew him to the quietist teachings of Buddhism which he propagated later with such zeal.

The crowning service which the Indo-Scythian monarch rendered to Buddhism was the convocation by him of a council which was held at a monastery named Kuṇḍalavana Vihāra in Kashmir according to some authorities and at the Kuvana monastery at Jālandhara according to others. Yuan Chwang who is considered to be the leading authority on the subject states that the Council met in Kashmir. The chief aim of the Council, which was the fourth in the history of Buddhist Councils, was the compilation of the doctrines of Buddhism and the writing of commentaries on them according to the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism. Kaniṣka summoned this Council at the instigation of an old and learned monk named Pārśva. Vasumitra was the President of the Council while Aśvaghoṣa, who was invited from Sāketa to help in the redaction of the Commentaries, acted as the Vice-President. Five hundred monks took part in the proceedings of the assembly and they compiled commentaries, known as the Vibhāṣā-śāstras, on the three Piṭakas of the Buddhist Canon. Yuan Chwang states that this Council composed 100,000 stanzas of Upadeśa-śāstras explaining the canonical sūtras, 100,000 stanzas of the Vinaya-vibhāṣā-śāstras explaining the Vinaya, and 100,000 stanzas of the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-śāstras in explanation of

1. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, by T. Watters (edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell, London, 1904-5), Vol. I, p. 203.

the Abhidharma. The Mahāvibhāṣā, which is still preserved in Chinese, perhaps represents the commentaries prepared by this Council. The treatises, prepared at this Council, were copied on copper plates which were enclosed in stone boxes and safely deposited in a stūpa which Kaniṣka had specially erected for this purpose. After the completion of the work of the assembly, which lasted for several days, Kaniṣka, following the example of Aśoka, donated the kingdom of Kashmir to the Buddhist Saṅgha.

According to Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī Kaniṣka founded many monasteries and caityas. He founded a city named Kaniṣkapura which has been identified with the modern Kanispur in Kashmir. Kaniṣka erected a great tope which was named after him. To the west of the tope he built a large monastery which was known as Kaniṣka Mahāvihara. Both these structures were erected at Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar). The Great Tope or the Kaniṣka Tope was a magnificent structure 400 feet high, the base being in five stages and 150 feet high. The Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien, Sung-Yun and Yuan Chwang have lavished great praise on the architectural beauty of this important relic tower. The Kaniṣka Mahāvihāra, referred to above, was an 'old monastery' at the time when Yuan Chwang visited it in the seventh century A.D. "Its upper storeys and many terraces were connected by passages and although the buildings were in ruins they could be said to be of rare art. There were still in the monastery a few brethren, all Hīnayānists. From the time it was built it had yielded occasionally extraordinary men, and the Arhats and śāstra-makers by their pure conduct and perfect virtue were still in active influence."[1] Al Biruni speaks of a Kanika Caitya (Kaniṣka Caitya) at Puruṣāvara (Peshawar), built by Kanika (Kaniṣka). Ostensibly, this was the same building as Kaniṣka Mahāvihāra.

The Kuṣāṇa line of rulers exhibited a wide spiritual cul-

1. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, by T. Watters (edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell, London, 1904-5), Vol. I, p. 208.

ture, as its members professed different forms of religious faith. As observed earlier, the first Kuṣāṇa chief, Kadphises I, was a devout Buddhist. Then came Kadphises II who was a Śaiva. Kaniṣka who succeeded Kadphises II was, as has been seen, not only an ardent Buddhist but also an indefatigable propagator of Buddhism. It is no less noteworthy that Vāśiṣka who succeeded Kaniṣka was a Bhāgavata. This is in keeping with the tradition of absolute freedom and toleration in religious faith which is a marked feature of Indian culture as a whole. Though an ardent Buddhist himself, Kaniṣka respected all other forms of faith, as is shown by his coins, which bear images of gods worshipped by the Greeks, Persians and Indians. Thus, besides Sakaymo Bodo (Śākyamuni Buddha), there is Oesho (Śiva), the fire god Athsho (Persian: Atash), the Greek sun god Helios, and several others. This liberal attitude in matters of religious worship was shown equally by another Buddhist ruler, Harṣa. He came nearly six centuries after Kaniṣka and showed equal reverence to Śiva, the cult of the Sun and certain other forms of religious faith.

Harṣa Vardhana was a great conqueror. He waged continuous warfare for thirty-six years before he could unite India under one sovereign rule. When this object was achieved he devoted himself to the arts of peace Harṣa was also a great patron of learning. The famous poet Bāṇa adorned his court. Harṣa himself was an author of repute. The three Sanskrit dramas, Nāgānanda, Ratnāvalī, and Priyadarśikā, are ascribed to him, although there are scholars who doubt Harṣa's authorship of these works. The play, Nāgānanda, deals with the legend of Jīmūtavāhana (cloud-riding) Bodhisattva who sacrificed himself for a nāga.

In his early life Harṣa had seen much suffering in his family. His mother, Yaśomatī, after the death of her husband, had burnt herself alive on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. Rājya Vardhana, his elder brother, was killed by Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa. The story of his unfortunate

sister, Rājyaśrī, is well known. Her husband. Gṛhavarmā, was killed by the king of Mālvā and she was rescued by Harṣa only by a happy chance, when she, in her excessive grief, was ready to mount the funeral pyre. These bereavements and misfortunes had their inevitable effect on the susceptible mind of Harṣa, who was not prepared to accept the kingdom of Thaneswar after the death of his elder brother, Rājya Vardhana, or of Kanauj after the death of Gṛhavarmā who had left no heir. He wanted to take to an ascetic life. The force of circumstance and the necessity of the times, however, not only compelled him to accept the kingdom of Thaneswar and Kanauj but also to wage wars to bring the whole of India under one sovereign rule. This was the great political and cultural need of the time in which Harṣa lived. He took upon his shoulders this onerous responsibility, but without the attendant vanity of kingship. It is stated by Yuan Chwang that when Harṣa was being requested by the ministers to ascend the throne after the death of his elder brother, Rājya Vardhana, he was perplexed and could not decide what to do. He went to the statue of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva on the banks of the Ganga to seek guidance. It seemed to him to be the will of Avalokiteśvara that he should dedicate himself to the affairs of state in the service of Buddhism and should not style himself king. Out of a sheer sense of desireless duty, however, Harṣa became the ruler of the country, but he did not use the title, Mahārāja, with his name. He was simply called "Rājaputra" or Śilāditya.

Harṣa's father, Mahārājādhirāja Prabhākara Vardhana, was a sun-worshipper and his elder brother and sister were devout Buddhists. Harṣa himself showed devotion not only to the cult of the Sun and Buddhism but also to the god Śiva. He erected temples for the Śaivas as well as monasteries for the Buddhist brethren. He practised religious toleration to such an extent that sometimes there is confusion even among the scholars about the religion which Harṣa actually professed. On some epigraphic evidence Dr. R. C.

Majumdar regards Harṣa as a 'pious and devoted Śaiva'.[1] This view is hardly tenable in the face of overwhelming evidence in favour of Harṣa being a devoted Buddhist. The very circumstances of his life prove that Buddhism was the only religion which would satisfy his spiritual needs, while out of a deep sense of filial piety he continued to worship the gods of his forefathers, which did not seem to him to be incompatible with his devotion to Buddhism. Thus although Harṣa worshipped the god Śiva and the Sun, he was himself a Buddhist. He was a patron of Nalanda University and erected a vihāra and a bronze temple there.[2] He also built several thousand stūpas on the banks of the Ganga.[3] It is said that in his early life Harṣa was a devotee of the Sāmmitīya school of Hīnayāna Buddhism, but later, under the influence of Yuan Chwang, was drawn towards Mahāyāna teachings. An important feature of the religious life of India in the seventh century A.D. was the emergence of what has been called 'Puranic Hinduism' or 'Neo-Hinduism' with its emphasis on image worship and a tightening up of the caste system which resulted in bitterness between the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists of that age. Yet royal patronage was accorded to all religious sects equally. Yuan Chwang states that "at the royal lodges viands were provided for 1,000 Buddhist monks and 500 Brāhmaṇas everyday".[4]

The humanistic work for which Harṣa was responsible reminds one of Aśoka. He prohibited the slaying of any living creature for food. Following the example of Aśoka, he built Dharmaśālās which were provided with food, drink and medicine for the benefit of the poor and the sick. It is said that the King "forgot sleep and food in his devotion

1. See his paper 'Harṣavardhana and His Time' in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III (Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, Bombay, 1954), p. 117.

2. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 171.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 344.

4. *Ibid.*

to good works".[1]

The most important event in Harṣa's reign is the visit of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, to India. He travelled in this country from 630 to 644 A.D. Harṣa first met him at Kajaṅgala near Rājamahal while he was returning from his conquest of Orissa. Harṣa treated the Chinese pilgrim with the utmost reverence and hospitality. He took him to Kanauj (Kanyākubja) where a special assembly was convoked in honour of the distinguished guest. This assembly was attended by Bhāskaravarmā (also called Kumāra), the king of Kamrup and several other rulers owing allegiance to Harṣa, besides four thousand learned monks, of whom one thousand came from Nalanda University, and three thousand Jainas and orthodox brāhmaṇas. Yuan Chwang was appointed 'Lord of the Discussion'. A golden image of the Buddha, equal to the king in stature, was kept in a tower which was a hundred feet high. The worship of the Three Jewels—the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha—was performed with great pomp. The ceremonies which lasted for twenty-one days were terminated by an unfortunate attempt on Harṣa's life which was happily foiled.

After the assembly's deliberations were over, Harṣa took his honoured guest to Prayag at the confluence of the rivers Ganga and Yamuna. It had been a practice of the king for the past thirty years to hold a quinquennial assembly at the confluence of the two rivers at Prayag and this was the sixth of such assemblies. The Chinese pilgrim describes in detail the imposing ceremonies which took place. The assembly, which was attended by all the vassal kings of Harṣa and the eminent scholars of all the religious sects in India, lasted for seventy-five days. On the first day the Buddha was worshipped. On the second and third days images of the Sun and Śiva were worshipped respectively. Harṣa gave away all he possessed. Yuan Chwang states that after he had parted with all he had, Harṣa begged his sister, Rājyaśrī, to

1. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 344.

give him an old garment which he put on to worship the 'Buddhas of the ten regions'.

Harṣa maintained diplomatic relations with the Chinese empire. He sent an envoy with a letter to the Chinese Emperor who in return sent an envoy with the customary presents which were received by Harṣa with great courtesy and honour. This interchange of embassies between India and China in Harṣa's time was the fruit of Harṣa's great friendship with Yuan Chwang and marks an important landmark in the history of Sino-Indian friendship based on mutual love and respect.

After witnessing the ceremonies at Prayag Yuan Chwang stayed for ten days more with his royal host and then started on his journey overland to China under a military escort led by Bhāskaravarmā who was charged by Harṣa to conduct the pilgrim safely to the frontier. With the departure of the Chinese pilgrim from India this brief account of Harṣa as a Buddhist ruler may be brought to a close.

Pali Authors: Nagasena, Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla

It is indeed strange that the unique place that Pali occupies in Indian literature is not appreciated and valued as it should be in India. It is not realized that the Pali language and literature have not only influenced modern Indian languages, but have also affected the growth of the languages of Ceylon, Burma and Siam. It is but natural that its intensive study should help us in strengthening our cultural ties with our neighbours.

Another important reason why we should interest ourselves in the study of Pali more than we have done is that Pali literature is a storehouse of basic material which would be invaluable in rewriting many a dark chapter of ancient Indian history.

The fact that the whole of this literature revolves round the personality of the Buddha makes it all the more valuable for students of Buddhism. Neumann, in his preface to

the translation of the Majjhima-nikāya, once wrote: "One who knows Pali needs no light from outside." It might sound like the outburst of a devoted heart, but he was not far from the truth.

Among the Pali writers and exponents of Buddhism who have helped us and continue to help us to understand the abstruse teachings of the Buddha, to harmonize the apparently conflicting teachings of the Master, and to grasp the inner meaning of the doctrine, four illustrious names stand out—Nāgasena, Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla. After the Pali scriptures, the Milinda-pañha or 'Questions of King Milinda', supposed to have been compiled by Mahāthera Nāgasena, is considered almost as authoritative a text.

What can be said almost with certainty is that the Milinda-pañha must have been written either at the time of Menander or after him, but surely before the time of Buddhaghosa, who has so often quoted Nāgasena's Milinda-pañha as an authority. That is to say, it must have been written between 150 B.C. and 400 A.D. Even when it is conceded that 'Questions of Milinda' has some historical basis, it remains to be considered as to who compiled the book, when it was written, whether additions and interpolations were made, and, if so, when they were made.

It has been suggested that the Milinda-pañha is not a unitary text. Its different chapters are written in more than one style. Hence it is probable that some chapters are later additions. A conclusive proof of the above theory, however, is the fact that the book was translated into Chinese between 317 A.D. and 420 A.D. and that its Chinese version, known as the Nāgasena-sūtra, contains only the first three chapters of the Milinda-pañha. From this it has been concluded that the remaining four chapters of the Milinda-pañha are later additions. Still another fact which supports the above view is that, at the end of the third chapter, it is stated that the questions of King Milinda have come to an end and the fourth chapter looks like a

new beginning. Admitting every possibility of later additions and interpolations we are probably not altogether justified in setting aside the assumption that Nāgasena, or whoever the author may have been, wrote the whole of the book as it has come down to us. For it is not impossible that the Chinese translator himself preferred to limit his translation only to the first three chapters.

The Milinda-pañha, as it stands at present, contains seven chapters. Out of these seven, the first one is largely personal and historical while the others are all doctrinal. It is strange that while Nāgasena took so much pains to tell us about his past life and that of King Menander, he does not give us much information about his present life. Humility bordering on self-effacement has been a general characteristic of all our ancient writers. This much, however, can easily be derived from the Milinda-pañha that the birth-place of the Elder Nāgasena was Kajaṅgala, a well-known town near the Himalayas on the eastern border of the Middle country and that his father was a brāhmaṇa called Sonuttara. When Nāgasena was well versed in the study of the three Vedas, history and other subjects, he studied the Buddha's doctrine under the Elder Rohaṇa and entered the Order. Later he studied under the Elder Assagutta of Vattaniya. Afterwards he was sent to Pāṭaliputra (Patna) where he made a special study of the Buddha's doctrine. In the end he proceeded to the Saṅkheyya monastery of Sāgala, where he met King Milinda.

Menander was not satisfied with the contemporary religious teachers, and his arrogance found expression in the following sentiments: "Jambudvīpa is empty, Jambudvipa is hollow. Jambudvīpa is devoid of any śramaṇa or brāhmaṇa who could argue with me."[1] In the Elder Nāgasena, however, king Menander met one who com-

1. *Tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo palāpo vata bho Jambudīpo*
Natthi koci Samaṇo vā Brāhmaṇo vā yo mayā saddhiṃ sallpituṃ
sakkoti kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinodetuṃ ti
(Milinda, p. 5.)

pletely subdued him not only with his superior intellect but also with his impressive and persuasive diction. It is said that as soon as they had exchanged formal greetings, the King said: "Sir, what is your name? How are you known?"

"Mahārāja, I am known as Nāgasena. My brother bhikkhus address me thus. Parents call their children Nāgasena, Sūrasena, etc., but all this is just usage. In reality there does not exist any individual as such."

This statement of the Elder Nāgasena set the ball rolling and there followed a series of questions and answers, including the famous chariot illustration which maintained that just as the parts of a chariot put together make a chariot, and there is no chariot apart from them, similarly the different components of an individual make an individual and that the individual does not exist apart from them.

No more profound, or appealing statement of the doctrine of Anātmavāda can be found than the above enunciation of the Elder Nāgasena in the whole of Buddhist literature, with the exception of the scriptures. Thus the Milinda-pañha is a comprehensive exposition not only of Buddhist metaphysics, but also of Buddhist ethics and psychology. As such, it is indispensable for the student of Buddhism. Apart from its importance as a Buddhist text, the Milinda-pañha is also to be valued as a historical document and a literary achievement of great eminence. The Milinda-pañha provides an unsurpassed testimony to Indian prose literature of the first century. In short, the Milinda-pañha occupies a unique position in Indian letters, whether looked at from the point of view of metaphysics, or literature, or history, or knowledge of geography. It is an indisputable fact that in post-canonical literature, no other treatise on Buddhism equals the Milinda-pañha.

Chronologically the Milinda-pañha is followed by a number of commentaries[1] on the different texts of the sacred

1. For a complete list of these commentaries, see E. W. Adikaran, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp. 1-2.

scriptures. More than half of these are ascribed by tradition to Buddhaghosa. Undoubtedly he was the greatest commentator that the sacred Buddhist texts have known.

Before we discuss the life and works of Buddhaghosa, it would perhaps be desirable to begin with an account of Buddhadatta who, though a contemporary of Buddhaghosa, had preceded him in Ceylon. According to the Buddhaghosuppatti, Ācārya Buddhadatta had gone earlier to Ceylon to study the word of the Buddha. When he was on his way to India after having completed his studies, his boat crossed another which carried Ācārya Buddhaghosa to Ceylon. As they met each other, they introduced themselves and exchanged greetings. Ācārya Buddhaghosa said, "The doctrine (commentaries) of the Buddha is available in the Siṃhalese language. I am proceeding to Ceylon to render them into Māgadhī." Buddhadatta replied, "Brother, I too had come to Ceylon for the same purpose, but as I shall not live very long now, I cannot finish the task."[1] As the two Elders were still conversing, the boats passed each other beyond hearing.

It appears that as they departed, Buddhadatta requested Buddhaghosa to send copies of each of his commentaries to him in India, which in all probability Buddhaghosa did. Buddhadatta later summarized Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the Abhidhamma-piṭaka in the Abhidhammāvatāra and those on the Vinaya-piṭaka in the Vinaya-vinicchya. Buddhadatta had come from Uragapur, the present Uraipur, in the kingdom of Coḷa. Like Buddhaghosa, he too had lived and studied the Buddha's doctrine at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapur. On his return from Ceylon, he wrote his books in a vihāra built by a certain Vaiṣṇava called Kṛṣṇadāsa or Viṣṇudāsa, on the banks of the Kaveri.

Among Buddhadatta's works, the Abhidhammāvatāra

1. *Āvuso Buddhaghosa ahaṃ tayā pubbe Laṅkādīpe Bhagavato Sāsānaṃ kātuṃ āgatomhi ti vatvā ahaṃ appāyuko...*
(Buddhaghosuppatti, p. 50, quoted in Bharat Singh Upadhyaya's *Pali Sāhitya kā Itihāsa.*)

stands supreme. Although it is only a summary of Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the Abhidhamma-piṭaka, Buddhadatta did not follow Buddhaghosa blindly. According to Buddhaghosa, there are five metaphysical ultimates, *i.e.*, rūpa (forms), vedanā (sensations), saññā (perceptions), saṅkhāra (various intellectual differentiations), and viññāṇa (consciousness), but in the Abhidhammāvatāra Buddhadatta classified and dealt with them as citta (consciousness), cetasika (constituents of consciousness), rūpa (forms), and nibbāṇa.

And now to turn to the greatest name of post-Tripiṭaka literature. What did Buddhaghosa do to serve and lengthen the period of Buddha-sāsana? It is almost certain that there is no other example like his. Considered not only from the point of view of its magnitude but also for its importance, it is hardly credible that a single individual could contribute so much towards the enrichment of Pali literature.

Among the books which shed some light on the personal life of Buddhaghosa, the Mahāvaṃsa alone can claim to have provided reliable material. Besides the Mahāvaṃsa, there are the Buddhaghosupatti, the Gandhavaṃsa, and the Sāsanavaṃsa, but these contain little useful information.

According to the Mahāvaṃsa, Buddhaghosa was born near Bodh Gaya. Another view is that he came from the Tailanga country. The Burmese claim that Burma was his birth-place. Whatever may be the truth, it is believed that he stayed at Bodh Gaya for a long period. At this time the vihāra at Bodh Gaya was in the hands of the bhikkhus from Ceylon. In the fourth century A.D., Kīrti Śrī Meghavarṇa of Ceylon, with the permission of Mahārāja Samudra Gupta, had caused a vihāra to be built at Bodh Gaya, so that the bhikkhus sent from Ceylon to worship Vajrāsana might experience no difficulty.

In Buddhaghosa's time, Pali Buddhism in India had lost much of its popularity. Sanskrit had regained the upper hand. Even Buddhist scholars had accepted Sanskrit as the medium of expression. Aśvaghoṣa, who lived in the first century A.D., wrote his poetical works in Sanskrit.

Similarly, great thinkers like Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and Dinnāga also wrote in Sanskrit. Even the Gupta kings no longer showed any interest in Pali and patronized Sanskrit. Thus, both Pali and Theravāda gradually dwindled into insignificance in India.

However, the bhikkhus who then resided at Bodh Gaya, even in the 5th century when Buddhaghosa was initiated into the Order, stood firm in their allegiance to Pali. At that time Mahāsthavira Revata was the head of the monastery at Gaya.

In those days religious discussions were very common in the country. Ghosa[1], who was eminently versed in the Vedas and allied literature, and well qualified to hold his own in arguments, went from place to place in quest of adversaries. One day the Mahāsthavira heard Ghosa reciting sūtras from Patañjali. He was so impressed by the correctness of Ghosa's pronunciation that, probably with the intention of converting him to Buddhism, he engaged in a discussion with him. Ghosa asked, "Do you understand these sūtras?" "Yes, I do; they are faulty."

Mahāsthavira Revata criticized these sūtras so severely that Ghosa was struck dumb. Then Ghosa requested Mahāsthavira Revata to enunciate his doctrine, whereupon the latter read an extract from the Abhidhamma-piṭaka. It was beyond Ghosa's comprehension. He asked, "Whose mantra is this?" Mahāsthavira replied, "It is the Buddha-mantra." Ghosa again asked, "Would you please teach it to me?" "Provided you enter the Order according to the rules of the Saṅgha", was Mahāsthavira's reply. Ghosa was ordained and came to be known as Buddhaghosa. Under Mahāsthavira Revata, he studied both the Dharma and the Vinaya and later became renowned as the greatest exponent of the doctrine of the Buddha.

While living at the vihāra where Buddhaghosa received his ordination, he compiled his first book, namely, Ñāṇodaya. Then, according to tradition, he wrote the Aṭṭha-

1. This is believed to be Buddhaghosa's original name.

sālinī, a commentary on the Dhamma-saṅgaṇi. Hearing that he was about to start writing a commentary on the Paritta-suttas, his teacher, Mahāsthavira Revata, instructed him thus:

"The original Tripiṭaka alone has been brought here from Ceylon. Here we neither possess commentaries, nor the tradition coming down from various teachers. But in Laṅkā, there are commentaries originally brought down by the wise Mahinda and later translated into the language of the island. Go there and study them, so that they may be beneficial to all."[1]

As asked by his teacher, Buddhaghosa started for Ceylon and arrived there during the reign of King Mahānāma. Having taken up his residence in a building of the Mahāvihāra, known as Mahāpadhāna, he heard all the Siṃhalese commentaries and the tradition of the Elders from Thera Saṅghapāla and was convinced that they were the exact and true teachings of the Tathāgata.[2] Then he made the following solemn request to the bhikkhu Saṅgha: "I want to translate the commentaries from Siṃhalese into Māgadhī. I should have free access to all the books."[3] Thereupon, the bhikkhus gave him two stanzas in Pali in order to test his ability and asked him to comment upon them. Buddhaghosa wrote a compendium of the whole of the Tripiṭaka and named it Visuddhimagga or the Path of Purity. Highly satisfied with this performance, the bhikkhus entrusted him

1. *Tattha Ñāṇodayaṃ nāma katvā pakaraṇaṃ tadā*
Dhammasaṅganiyākāsi kaṇḍam so Aṭṭhasālinī.
Parittaṭṭhakathaṃ ceva kātuṃ ārabhi buddhimā,
Taṃ disvā Revato Thero idaṃ vacanam abruvi,
Pālimattaṃ idhānitaṃ natthi Aṭṭhakathā idha,
Tathācariyāvādā ca bhinnarūpā na vijjare
Sīhalaṭṭhakathā suddhā Mahindena matīmatā,
Saṅgītittayam āruḷhaṃ Sammāsambuddha-desitaṃ
Katā Sīhalabhāsāya Sīhalesu pavattati,
Tam tattha gantvā sutvā tvaṃ Magadhānam niruttiya.
Parivattehi sā hoti sabbalokahitāvahā.

(Mahāvaṃsa, 37,225-230.)

2. *Dhammasāmissa eso va adhippāyo ti nicchiya* (Mahāvaṃsa, 37,233).

3. *Kātuṃ aṭṭhakatham mama potthake detha* (Mahāvaṃsa, 37,234).

with the whole of the literature. Residing in Granthakāra Pariveṇa at Anurādhapur. Buddhaghosa completed his task of rendering Siṃhalese commentaries into Māgadhī. Thereafter he returned to his mother country and there worshipped the Bodhi tree.[1]

Scholars like Prof. D. Kosambi for some reason do not believe that North India was the birth-place of Buddhaghosa and favour the Burmese tradition that he came from the South. Prof. Kosambi even doubts that Buddhaghosa was a brāhmaṇa.[2] We, on our part, do not see any serious objection to believing the Mahāvaṃsa tradition, according to which he was a brāhmaṇa born in North India.

It is not known where this great Pali commentator attained nirvāṇa. In Cambodia, there is an ancient vihāra known as Buddhaghosa Vihāra and a living tradition that Buddhaghosa spent his last days in that country. There is no reason to doubt this belief.

It would be beyond the scope of this biographical note to discuss all the sources of the Pali commentaries but a brief introduction to some of Buddhaghosa's works may not be out of place.

The Visuddhimagga was the first work of Buddhaghosa in Ceylon. In it 'something of almost everything' in early Buddhist literature may be found. Throughout the book, Buddhaghosa quotes freely from almost the whole of canonical and even post-canonical literature. As the Mahāvaṃsa states, it is truly 'a summary of the three Piṭakas together with the commentary'.

As regards the other works of Buddhaghosa we cannot be definite as to the chronological order in which they were written. Nor does internal evidence help us in placing them in any chronological order, for almost every commentary is

1. *Vanditum so Mahābodhiṃ Jambudīpam upāgami* (Mahāvaṃsa, 37,246).

2. For D. Kosambi's view, see his Preface (xii-xvi) to his Devanāgarī edition of the Visuddhimagga and confirmation of his views about Buddhaghosa's birth-place in an article by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam and Mr. S. P. Nainar in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XIX, part IV (1952), pp. 278-284.

mentioned in the other commentaries. The Samanta-pāsādikā is a commentary on the Vinaya. This voluminous work was written at the request of Thera Buddha Siri. In the introduction to the Samanta-pāsādikā, Buddhaghosa himself describes his work as follows: "In commencing this commentary, having embodied therein the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā, without excluding any proper meaning from the decisions contained in the Mahā-paccarī, as also in the famous Kurundī and other commentaries and including the opinion of the Elders . . . from these commentaries, after casting off the language, condensing detailed accounts, including authoritative decisions, without overstepping any Pali idiom (I shall proceed to compose my work)." In addition, Buddhaghosa wrote a commentary on the Pātimokkha known as the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī or the Mātikaṭṭhakathā. It was based on the Mahāvihāra tradition and was written at the request of a thera named Soṇa.

Buddhaghosa also wrote commentaries on the four principal Nikāyas, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī on the Dīgha, the Papañcasūdanī on the Majjhima, the Sāratthappakāsinī on the Saṃyutta and the Manorathapūraṇī on the Aṅguttara. The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī was written at the request of Thera Dāṭhānāga of the Sumaṅgala Pariveṇa. The name of the commentary was probably suggested by the name of the Pariveṇa itself. The Papañcasūdanī was written at the request of Thera Buddhamitta. He was a friend of the commentator with whom he had lived at Mayūra-paṭṭana in South India. The Sāratthappakāsinī is said to have been written at the request of another thera named Jotipāla.

Among these, special mention may be made of the Manorathapūraṇī, the commentary on the Aṅguttara-nikāya. It contains biographical notes on almost all the chief disciples of the Lord Buddha, besides an enumeration of the names of all the places where the Buddha went during the rainy season. According to the Manorathapūraṇī, the Tathāgata had spent his rainy seasons at the following places:

Rainy seasons		Places
First	...	Ṛṣi-patana
Second to fourth	...	Rājagṛha
Fifth	...	Vaisali
Sixth	...	Maṇkula-parvata
Seventh	...	Trayastriṃśa Heaven
Eighth	...	Bhesakalāvana, near Suṃsumāra-giri.
Ninth	...	Kauśāmbī
Tenth	...	Pārileyyaka
Eleventh	...	Nāḷā
Twelfth	...	Verañjā
Thirteenth	...	Cāliya-parvata
Fourteenth	...	Jetavana in Śrāvasti
Fifteenth	...	Kapilavastu
Sixteenth	...	Āḷavī
Seventeenth	...	Rājagṛha
Eighteenth to nineteenth		Cāliya-parvata
Twentieth	...	Rājagṛha
Twenty-first to forty-sixth.		Jetavana or Pubbārāma in Śrāvasti.[1]

The Visuddhimagga and the commentaries on the four Nikayas mentioned above are undoubtedly the works of Buddhaghosa, though there may be some dispute about the other works attributed to him. Buddhaghosa is also credited with the commentaries on the four books belonging to the Khuddaka-nikaya, namely, Dhammapada, Jātaka, Khuddaka-paṭha, and Suttanipāta.

The Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā is also a Pali translation of an original Siṃhalese commentary. Some scholars suggest that this is not the work of the great commentator Buddhaghosa. Their chief argument is the difference in style, which may well be due to the difference in the subject matter.

The Jātakaṭṭhakathā is an extensive commentary which was written at the request of three theras, namely, Atthadassī, Buddhamitta and Buddhadeva. Buddhadeva is

1. See A Cm., ii, 124-25; *cf.* Buddhavaṃsa Cm., p. 3; M Cm., ii, 165.

mentioned as belonging to the Mahīśāsaka sect, but the Jātakaṭṭhakathā is wholly based on the Mahāvihāra recension. This indicates that there was no antagonistic feeling between the Theravāda and the Mahīśāsaka sects, at least at that time.

The Paramatthajotikā constitutes the commentaries on the Khuddaka-pāṭha and the Suttanipāta. In all probability, these two commentaries were *not* written by the great commentator but by another author bearing the same name.

The commentaries on the seven texts of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka were also written by Buddhaghosa at the request of a thera bearing the same name. They too are based on the original Siṃhalese commentaries as well as on the accepted tradition of Mahāvihāra. There are also the Aṭṭhasālinī, a commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, the Sammoha-vinodanī, a commentary on the Vibhaṅga, and the Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā on the remaining five texts, namely, the Dhatu-kathā, the Kathā-vatthu, the Puggalapaññatti, the Yamaka and the Paṭṭhāna.

Buddhaghosa is also credited with the authorship of a few other works which are no longer available.

Even without these books, Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, which shows his encyclopaedic knowledge, keen intellect and deep insight, and his numerous commentaries give him an unassailable position among Indian thinkers and scholars.

After Buddhaghosa there is at least one more commentator whom we should not fail to mention. This is Thera Dhammapala who lived at Badaratittha, a place on the south-east coast of India. He was probably born in the South. Since he mentions Buddhaghosa's commentaries in his work, it may be concluded that he came at a later period than Buddhaghosa. He is credited with the writing of all the commentaries on such books as the Khuddaka-nikāya which had been left undone by the great commentator, Buddhaghosa, *i.e.*, on the Udāna, the Itivuttaka, the Vimāna-vatthu, the Peta-vatthu, the Thera-gāthā, the Therī-gāthā, and the Cariyā-piṭaka. All these are jointly called Paramatthadīpanī. He has also written a commentary called the Paramattha-

mañjūsā. or Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga. This ṭīkā while commenting on *nava-sarīra-pātūbhāvo* in chapter XVII of the Visuddhimagga says that when a body is worn out and cast aside. a new body is born in another world. and further echoes (p. 693 of the Burmese edition of the Ṭīkā. Mundayna Press) the famous stanza of the Bhagavadgītā (II. 22)[1] in the following stanza:

Vatthāni jiṇṇāni yathā pahāya navāni gaṇhāti
naro parāṇi
Nikkhippa dehaṃ idha jiṇṇamevaṃ jaṇhāti
attābhinavaṃ sukhesī ti

This commentary often refers to the views of other schools or teachers, like Vasudhamma of the Mahāsaṅghikas or Kāṇāda, Kapila, Ājīvika or other works like Aṭṭhasālinī, the Sammoha-vinodanī and the Paṭṭhāna-aṭṭhakathā. It also refers to the views of the Abhayagiri school and mentions Upatissa and his Vimuttimagga in one place. A close study of Dhammapāla's commentaries would be very helpful in understanding the contemporary religious condition of South India and Ceylon. Dhammapāla, too, based his commentaries on original Siṃhalese works. It is probable that he also made use of Dravidian commentaries available to him in South India.

It is said that he wrote another commentary on a post-canonical work, namely, the Netti. This was written at the request of a thera called Dhammarakkhita. It is recorded that at that time Dhammapāla lived at Nāgapaṭṭana in a vihāra built by King Dharmāśoka.

Pali commentaries have often been bracketed with Sanskrit bhāṣyās and ṭikās. But there is nothing in Indian bhāṣya literature which could stand comparison with the Pali Aṭṭhakathā. Along with textual explanatory notes, the Aṭṭhakathās abound in historical material of the greatest importance. Pali commentators have given proof of a his-

1. *Vāsāṃsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya navāni gṛhṇati naroparāṇī*
Tathā śarīrāṇi vihāya jīrṇāni anyāni saṃyāti navāni dehī

torical sense not met with elsewhere in bhāṣya literature.

While the literature of Theravāda Buddhism is in Pali, the Sarvāstivādins (who are classed among the Hīnayānists) and the Mahāyānists chose Sanskrit as the medium of expression for their religious literature. Accordingly, some of the authors connected with the history of Sanskrit Buddhism are discussed here.

Sanskrit Authors: Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, Dinnāga, and Dharmakīrti

Aśvaghoṣa, a contemporary of King Kaniṣka, was a great Buddhist poet and philosopher. He occupies a unique position not only in the history of Buddhist thought but also in the whole tradition of Sanskrit poetry inasmuch as he was an important successor of Vālmīki, whom he calls 'Ādi Kavi' and 'Dhīmān', and a notable predecessor of Kālidāsa and Bhāsa. Indeed, some scholars in India and abroad believe Kālidāsa owed much to him. The chief contribution which Aśvaghoṣa made to the history of Buddhist thought was his emphasis on Buddha-bhakti.

Though the Mahāyānist teachings had been spreading for at least two to three centuries before his time, they find the first notable expression in his writings, in spite of the fact that he belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school.

Our knowledge of Aśvaghoṣa's life is very scanty. From the little information the poet has given at the end of some of his poetical compositions, it is known that he was a native of Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and that his mother's name was Suvarṇākṣi. At the end of his three well-known works—the Buddhacarita, the Saundarānanda and the Śāriputra-prakaraṇa—he says, *Ārya Suvarṇākṣīputrasya Sāketakasya bhikṣor ācārya-bhadantāśvaghoṣasya mahākaver Mahāvādinaḥ kṛtir iyaṃ.* This shows that the illustrious poet was also a scholar, a religious controversialist and an eminent Buddhist monk, possessing great powers of argument and discussion.

Aśvaghoṣa's two important poetical compositions are the Buddhacarita and the Saundarānanda. The former is a Mahākāvya, depicting the life of Lord Buddha in a chaste and stately style, though written with considerable restraint. The original poem, as known to I-tsing in the Chinese translation in the seventh century A.D., contains 28 cantos. The Tibetan translation also has the same number of cantos. Hence the original Sanskrit version must also have consisted of 28 cantos. Of these, only 17 are preserved in Sanskrit today, and generally only the first thirteen are regarded as authentic. I-tsing says that in his time this beautiful poem was "widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India, and the countries of the Southern Sea".

In this epic Aśvaghoṣa not only gives us the best account of the life and teachings of Lord Buddha, but also gives evidence of his encyclopaedic knowledge of India's mythological traditions and pre-Buddhistic philosophical systems, notably the Sāṅkhya. The Saundarānanda-kāvya narrates the ordination by the Buddha of Nanda, his half-brother.

Besides these two significant poetical works, Aśvaghoṣa wrote three Buddhist dramas which were discovered by H. Luders in Turfan in Central Asia at the beginning of this century. Of these, the Śāriputraprakaraṇa, a prakaraṇa in nine acts, is the most important. It is the oldest dramatic work extant in Sanskrit literature. Aśvaghoṣa also wrote a lyrical poem called the Gaṇḍīstotra-gāthā which consists of 29 stanzas in the sragdharā metre. E. H. Johnston questions Aśvaghoṣa's authorship of this work, but as Winternitz observes, "It is a beautiful poem, worthy of Aśvaghoṣa both in form and content."[1]

Nāgārjuna, who was a friend and contemporary of the Śātavāhana king, Yajñaśrī Gautamīputra (166 -196 A.D.), was a Buddhist philosopher of towering personality. He created an age in the history of Buddhist philosophy and gave it a definite turn. He propounded the Mādhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy, which is also known as Śūnyavāda. A greater

1. *History of Indian Literature* Vol. II (Calcutta University, 1933), p. 266.

dialectician than Nāgārjuna the world has never seen. His great philosophical work, the Mādhyamika-kārikā or Mādhyamika-śāstra consists of 400 kārikās in 27 chapters and is the groundwork of his philosophy. It is an epitome of the teachings contained in the Mahāyāna-sūtras and displays rare insight into the science of logic and unsurpassed flights of daring thought. This work alone is enough to show what a master mind Nāgārjuna was and how he shines in solitary splendour among the intellectuals of this country, past and present.

According to the biography of Nāgārjuna translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in about 405 A.D., Nāgārjuna was born in South India in a Brāhmaṇa family. Yuan Chwang, however, states that he was born in South Kośala or the ancient province of Vidarbha (modern Berar). Nāgārjuna studied the whole of the Tripiṭaka in 90 days, but was not satisfied. He received the Mahāyāna-sūtra from a very old monk in the Himalayas, but spent most of his life at Śrī Parvata or Śrī Śailam in South India which he made into a centre for the propagation of Buddhism. The Tibetan accounts show that Nāgārjuna lived at Nalanda also. Yuan Chwang speaks of 'the four suns which illumined the world'. One of these was Nāgārjuna, the other three being Aśvaghoṣa, Kumāralabdha (Kumāralāta) and Āryadeva. Indeed as a philosophical thinker, Nāgārjuna has no match in the history of Indian philosophy. T. Watters rightly calls him 'one of the wonders and mysteries of later Buddhism'.[1]

About twenty treatises available in Chinese translations are generally ascribed to Nāgārjuna. Of these, eighteen are mentioned by Bunyiu Nanjio in his Catalogue as Nāgārjuna's compositions. A reference has already been made to the Mādhyamika-kārikā or the Mādhyamika-śāstra as the principal work of Nāgārjuna who himself wrote a commentary on it called the Akutobhayā, 'The Safe One'.[2] Mention may be made

1. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 203.

2. The Tibetan text was translated into Sanskrit by the late Miss Indu Datar for a thesis for the Doctor's degree of the University of Bombay which is not yet published.

here of only one more treatise of Nāgārjuna, which he wrote as a letter to his friend, Yajña Śrī Gautamīputra. This treatise is known as the Suhṛllekha or 'Letter to a Friend'. I-tsing tells us that at the time of his visit to India he saw children committing it to memory and adults making a life-long study of it. This treatise shows unmistakably that Nāgārjuna was not a destructive thinker as he is generally supposed to be and morality plays as important a role in his philosophy of Śūnyatā as in any other philosophical discipline.

Sthavira Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka (or Bhavya) may be mentioned here as important exponents of the Śūnyavāda doctrine propounded by Nāgārjuna. They both belong to the fifth century A.D. and their chief importance in the history of Buddhist thought lies in the fact that they are the respective founders of two schools of logical thinking known as the Prāsaṅgika and the Svātantra schools. The Prāsaṅgika school founded by Buddhapālita attempts to develop a method of reasoning in which an individual in order to establish his position puts such questions to his adversary as would defeat him completely and make his position absurd. The Svātantra school as propounded by Bhavya, tries to establish the truth of the Mādhyamika doctrines by advancing independent (svatantra) arguments. Āryadeva, Śāntideva, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla are other distinguished thinkers of the Mādhyamika school.

The two illustriuos brothers, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, who both lived in the fourth century A.D., are among those creative thinkers who brought about what may be called the classical age of Buddhist philosophy. They were in fact three brothers, of whom Asaṅga was the eldest. Vasubandhu was the second brother, while the youngest was called Viriñcivatsa. Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were born in Puruṣapura in the Gandhāra country. They belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Kauśika gotra and were well versed in Brahmanical learning. They were educated in Kashmir where they studied the Vibhāṣā-śāstra. Originally Asaṅga and Vasubandhu be-

longed to the Sarvāstivāda school which held sway in Kashmir and Gandhāra in those days. They also sojourned in Ayodhyā for some time. According to Paramārtha, the biographer of Vasubandhu, the latter died in Ayodhyā at the age of eighty.

Asaṅga has been regarded as the most prominent teacher of the Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda school. He also induced his younger brother, Vasubandhu, to leave the Sarvāstivāda school and join the new school. Asaṅga was a pupil of Maitreyanātha who is regarded as the founder of the Vijñānavāda school. The most important works of Asaṅga are the Mahāyāna-samparigraha, the Prakaraṇa-āryavācā, the Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra and the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra.[1] The last two works are most important from the ethical and doctrinal points of view. The Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra, which in its original Sanskrit form has been discovered by Rahul Sankrityayan, is divided into seventeen bhūmis and describes in detail the path of discipline according to the Yogācāra school. The Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra is the joint work of Asaṅga and his teacher Maitreyanātha. The kārikās were written by Maitreyanātha and their commentary by Asaṅga.

Vasubandhu, who in the latter part of his life joined the Vijñānavāda school of Mahāyāna Buddhism at the inspiration of his elder brother, was a celebrated teacher of the Vaibhāṣika branch of the Sarvāstivāda school. His greatest work, the Abhidharma-kośa, is an encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy and was written originally from the point of view of the Vaibhāṣika branch of the Sarvāstivāda school, which was dominant in Kashmir, as the author himself observes at the end of the work, *Kāśmīravaibhāṣikanītisiddhaḥ prāyo mayāyaṃ kathito 'bhidharmaḥ*. This grand work written in 600 kārikās proved invaluable for the propagation of Buddhism in Asia. It is not possible here to give an idea of the

1. The Abhidharma-samuccaya, recently edited from an incomplete manuscript by Prof. Prahlad Pradhan and published in *Visva Bharati Studies*, Santiniketan, might also be added.

philosophy contained in the Abhidharma-kośa. Suffice it to say that from the very beginning this useful work elicited praise not only from the Buddhists but also from others. Thus, in the seventh century, Bāṇa while describing the hermitage of the Buddhist monk, Divākaramitra, in his Harṣacarita says that even the parrots there explained the Kośa (*i.e.*, the Abhidharma-kośa) to one another. *Sukairapi Śākyaśāsanakuśalaiḥ kosaṃ samupadiśadbhiḥ.* Yasomitra, who wrote a commentary named the Sphuṭārthā on Vasubandhu's Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya[1], says that, on account of his spiritual attainments, Vasubandhu was known as a second Buddha by his contemporaries. *Yam buddhimatām agryam dvitīyamiva Buddham ityāhuḥ.*[2] This is no ordinary praise for a mortal. The vast commentarial literature written on the Abhidharma-kośa points to the great influence the work has exercised on men's minds. Besides the Abhidharma-kośa, Vasubandhu wrote the Paramārtha-saptati which was an attack on the Sāṅkhya-saptati of the well-known Sāṅkhya teacher, Vindhyavāsī, who was a contemporary of Vasubandhu. He also wrote two treatises on logic, namely, the Tarka-śāstra and the Vāda-vidhi. As a Mahāyānist teacher he wrote commentaries on the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra and the Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā. He has also given us an invaluable little book called the Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi. It is found in two recensions entitled the Viṃśikā and the Triṃśikā which contain twenty and thirty kārikās respectively.

Among the inheritors of Vasubandhu mention should be made of Sthiramati, the younger Dharmapāla and his pupil Candrakīrti.

In the history of Buddhist logic the name of Dinnāga occupies a pre-eminent place. He is the founder of Bud-

1. Vasubandhu wrote his own Bhaṣya on the Kośa. The manuscript of this also was recovered from Tibet by Rahul Sankrityayan and is understood to have been edited by Prof. Prahlad Pradhan for publication by the Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

2. Opening lines of the Sphuṭārthā.

dhist logic and has been called the Father of Medieval Nyāya as a whole. He lived at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. According to Tibetan sources he was born in Siṃha-Vaktra, a suburb of Kāñcī in the South, in a Brāhmaṇa family. He was first a Hīnayānist Buddhist of the Vātsīputrīya sect and later devoted himself to the teachings of Mahāyānism. According to the Tibetan tradition, he was a pupil of Vasubandhu. Dinnāga also went to the Nalanda Mahāvihāra where he defeated a Brāhmaṇa logician named Sudurjaya in a religious discussion. He also toured the provinces of Oḍiviśa (Orissa) and Mahāraṭṭha (Maharashtra), holding religious contests with scholars. He is said to have died in a jungle in Orissa. Dinnāga is credited with the authorship of about a hundred treatises on logic. Most of these are still preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations and have been mentioned by Bunyiu Nanjio in his famous Catalogue. I-tsing says that Dinnāga's treatises on logic were read as text-books at the time of his visit to India. Among the most important works of Dinnāga are the Pramāṇa-samuccaya, his greatest work, the Nyāya-praveśa, the Hetucakra-ḍamaru, the Pramāṇa-śāstra-nyāyapraveśa, the Ālambana-parīkṣā and several others, all written in a terse and difficult style. In his works Dinnāga criticized some of the theories propounded by Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-bhāṣya. It was as a defence of Vātsyāyana's position that Udyotakara later wrote the Nyāya-vārtika. Dinnāga is thus an important link between the Buddhist and the orthodox Nyāya systems of India.

Dharmakīrti, who was born in a village named Tirumalai in the Coḷa country, was a successor of Dinnāga and a logician of unsurpassed genius. Dr. Stcherbatsky rightly regards him as the Kant of India. Even his Brahmanical adversaries have acknowledged the superiority of his reasoning powers. Dharmakīrti lived in the seventh century. He studied logic from Īśvarasena who was among Dinnāga's pupils. Later, he went to Nalanda and became a disciple of Dharmapāla who was at that time the Saṅgha-sthavira of the

Mahāvihāra and a prominent teacher of the Vijñānavāda school. Dharmakīrti's fame as a subtle philosophical thinker and dialectician was till recently shrouded in obscurity. Rahul Sankrityayan has done signal service not only to Buddhism but to Indian logic by discovering in Tibet the original Sanskrit version of the Pramāṇa-vārtika, the *magnum opus* of Dharmakīrti.[1] The other important works written by Dharmakīrti are the Pramāṇa-viniścaya, the Nyāya-bindu, the Sambandha-parīkṣā, the Hetu-bindu, the Vādanyāya and the Samānāntara-siddhi. All these works deal generally with the Buddhist theory of knowledge and display great erudition and subtle thinking. Dharmakīrti's writings mark the highest summit reached in epistemological speculation by later Buddhism. They have also a place in the general development of Nyāya-śāstra in India. In fact, it was through the incentive provided by Dharmakīrti that Vācaspati Miśra in the ninth century came forward to write his Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭīkā in defence of the writer of the Nyāya-vārtika whom Dharmakīrti attacked in his writings.

B. In Tibet

Ācārya Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna

Ācārya Dīpaṅkar Śrījñāna's name stands foremost among the Indians who had worked selflessly to bring Tibet and India closer together culturally. In Tibet his fame is only next to that of the Buddha and Padmasambhava. Undoubtedly, of all the Indian scholars who went to Tibet from India, the greatest were Ācārya Śāntarakṣita and his disciple, Ācārya Kamalaśīla. Ācārya Dīpaṅkara, too, was a great scholar and he stands higher than the other two in making available priceless Sanskrit works in Tibetan. It is interesting to note that with a few exceptions, all Indian names are known to Tibetans in translated forms. Thus Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna is known in Tibet as Dpal-mar-med-mdsa Ye-Śes

1. A commentary on this work called **Pramāṇa-vārtika-bhāṣya** or **Vārtika-alaṅkāraḥ** by **Prajñākaragupta was published in 1953 by the Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.**

and Śāntarakṣita as Shi-Va-Chho. The Tibetans also call Ācārya Dīpaṅkara Jo-Vo-rJe Pal Dan Atiśa (Svāmī Śrī Atiśayā) or merely Atiśa.

Ācārya Dīpaṅkara's father was king Kalyāṇa Śrī, and his mother Śrī Prabhāvatī. He was born in the 'water-man-horse' year (*i.e.*, the year of Manmath, Vikram era 1039, 982 A.D.) in Sahor in eastern India. Not far from the Kalyāṇa Śrī palace where Dīpaṅkara was born, was the Vikrama-vihāra, which was also called the Vikramaśilā[1] Vihāra. There has been useless controversy as to whether Dīpaṅkara was born in Bengal or in Bihar. Authoritative Tibetan sources leave us in no doubt that he was born in Bhagalpur.

The parents of Dīpaṅkara were intimately connected with the Vikramaśīlā Vihāra which was widely known throughout the Buddhist world in those days. According to tradition, at his birth, his parents went to this vihāra for worship and took him with them in a procession of 500 chariots. The King had three sons—Padmagarbha, Candragarbha and Śrīgarbha. The second, Candragarbha, became famous as Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna when he took the Order.

As was customary for the children of the nobility at that time, the astrologers predicted many wonderful things about Candragarbha when he was born. He was an intelligent child and was sent to school at the age of three. By the age of eleven, he had mastered the three R's and had become a grammarian. However, since Prince Candragarbha was not the eldest son of the king, he was not destined for the throne.

In those days higher education was provided only at the vihāras Fortunately, the world-famous Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra was not far from his father's capital, but Nalanda was still held in great esteem. The prince while roaming one day went by chance to a nearby jungle. There he met Ācārya Jitāri[2] who lived in a cottage.

1. See note on this word in Chapter VIII, p. 177.
2. See note on this name in the Appendix to this Chapter.

Jitāri was renowned as a grammarian and erudite scholar. "Who are you?" he asked the prince. "I am the son of the master of the land", replied Candragarbha.

Jitāri thought that this answer showed pride. "We neither have any master nor any slave. If you are the ruler of the land, then go away", he answered.

This was the age of the eighty-four Siddhas, and Tilopā and Nāropā were still alive. Although Jitāri was not counted among these eighty-four, the prince knew that, notwithstanding his great scholarship, he had forsaken the world. Very humbly he told him that he wanted to renounce the world.

At this, Jitāri advised him to go to Nalanda, as he thought that if the prince was ordained too close to his father's capital, it would be difficult for him to overcome pride.

No one, however, was allowed to become a Buddhist monk without the consent of his parents. Candragarbha did not find it easy to persuade his father and mother to share his desire. Finally, when he was permitted to go to Nalanda with a few attendants, the King of Nalanda expressed surprise. "How is it that you have come here, although you have the mahāvihāra of Vikramaśilā in your neighbourhood?" he asked.

The prince spoke to him of the greatness of the Nalanda. At this, the King relented and recommended him for residence at the Nalanda Vihāra. Accordingly, the prince reported himself to the head of the vihāra; Bhikṣu Bodhibhadra. As one could be initiated as a bhikṣu only at the age of twenty, the prince had perforce to wait for nearly nine years. Meanwhile, however, Ācārya Bodhibhadra initiated him into the life of a śramaṇa (novice), made him wear saffron-coloured clothes and called him Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna. In Buddhist lore, Dīpaṅkara is a highly revered name, because it was the name of a Buddha who came long before Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha. Śrījñāna was added to his name as he was expected to become a scholar.

Maitrī Gupta, the guru of Bodhibhadra, was living then.

He had abandoned the path of scholarship and taken to the ways of the Siddhas. Consequently, he was called Maitrīpā Advayavajra or Avadhūtipāda. Bodhibhadra once took his young disciple to Avadhūtipāda who lived at Rājagṛha, and prevailed upon him to accept Dīpaṅkara as a disciple. The guru agreed and the twelve year old Dīpaṅkara stayed with him until he was eighteen. In this period, he made a thorough study of the scriptures.

As the cult of the mantras and the Siddhas was dominant in those days, he had of necessity to study these subjects. And who could be a better guru for these than Nāropā (Nāḍapāda or Narottamapāda)? Nāropā was a Siddha, but he was also a great scholar. The Nalanda and Vikramaśilā mahāvihāras were great centres of learning, and prospective pupils had to pass many difficult examinations before they were allowed to enter these universities. At every gate of Vikramaśīlā there used to live an erudite scholar. Nāropā was in charge of the northern gate. From Rājagṛha, Dīpaṅkara went to him, and remained with him for eleven years. Besides Dīpaṅkara, Nāropā had many other disciples, such as Prajñārakṣita, Kanakaśrī and Māṇakaśrī, all of whom distinguished themselves as great scholars in later years. Pupils came even from foreign lands to study at the feet of Nāropā. This is evident from the fact that the most famous Siddha of Tibet (the great poet Milā Repā's guru, Marpā) was also a disciple of Nāropā.

Dīpaṅkara completed his studies at Vikramaśilā, but his thirst for knowledge was not quenched. The chief bhikṣu of Vajrāsana Mahāvihāra at Bodh Gaya was renowned for his learning. He was known as Vajrāsanīpāda (Dorje danpa), although this was not his real name. Dīpaṅkara went to the Mati Vihāra in Vajrāsana and became the disciple of Mahāvinayadhara Śīlarakṣita, the great Vinaya-piṭaka scholar. He studied the Vinaya-piṭaka with him for two years. Thus, by the time he reached the age of 31, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna had already become a master of the three Piṭakas and the Tantras, and an all-round scholar.

At that time Ācārya Dharmapāla of Suvarṇa-dvīpa (modern Sumatra) was famous for his scholarship throughout the Buddhist world. Indians in that age did not suffer from the complex of having a monopoly of great learning. In fact, one of the eighty-four Siddhas, Ratnākaraśānti, who had earned the title of Kalikāla-sarvajña, omniscient of the Kali Age, was a disciple of Ācarya Dharmapāla. Jñānaśrī Mitra, the great exponent of dialectics, and Ratnakīrti had also sat at the feet of Ācārya Dharmapāla. Dīpaṅkara had met these scholars at Vikramaśīlā and had probably learnt a good deal from the disciples of Ācārya Dharmapāla. His *Wanderlust*, however, was not satisfied. From Bodh Gaya he went to the seacoast, perhaps to Tāmralipti, the present Tamluk in the Midnapur district of West Bengal. In the Tibetan biographies of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, there is no other mention of his travels, but it is certain that he must have visited Sarnath (Ṛṣipatan), Śrāvasti, Kusinārā and other holy places before he set sail for Sumatra. Vijayapāla (960—1040 A.D.) was the king of Magadha in those days. This was the time when Mahmud Ghaznavi (997—1030 A.D.) invaded India and plundered Kanauj, Mathura, Banaras and Kalanjar. In his last invasion in 1023 A.D., Somnath was laid waste. Dīpaṅkara had started on his voyage only ten years earlier.

Dīpaṅkara travelled for fourteen months and during this period he might have visited Burma and Malaya also. No vestige of the Buddhist religion is left in Sumatra now except for the ruins of some old vihāras, but when Dīpaṅkara went there, it was famous for Buddhist learning. It was usual for foreign monks on their way to India to stay in Sumatra for some time to acquire proficiency in Sanskrit. This is known from the accounts left by Chinese pilgrims four centuries earlier.

At first, Dīpaṅkara lived quietly by himself and many monks came to see him. Then he went to Ācārya Dharmapāla and remained with him for twelve years, studying the books he already knew. Of these, the Abhi-

samayālaṅkāra by Asaṅga and the Bodhicaryāvatāra by Śāntideva are still extant. Dīpaṅkara was also initiated in the mysteries of the Tantras and other scriptures. In those days it was customary for a scholar to stay with a great master for a long period to study the great works methodically. Even in our own age scholars sometimes spend something like twelve years to read only eight to ten pages of the Tatvacintāmaṇi by Gaṅgesh Upādhyāya.

At the age of forty-four, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna left Sumatra and returned to Vikramaśīlā. By virtue of his extraordinary learning and ability, he became the chief among the 51 scholars and the leader of 108 temples in the vihāra. Siddha Bhutakoṭipāda Śāntipāda and Avadhūtipāda were all responsible for what he became eventually. Avadhūtipāda was the disciple of Siddha Ḍamrūpā and was the grand disciple of the great Siddha poet, Kaṇhapā. Jālandharapā, the guru of Kaṇhapā, was one of the most important among the eighty-four Siddhas. Dīpaṅkara was thus not only a great scholar, but also well versed in the mysteries of the Siddha cult.

At that time Nalanda, Uddantapurī (Bihar Sharif), Vajrāsana and Vikramaśīlā were the four greatest vihāras of India. Of these, Vikramaśīlā was the most important and had an interesting origin. The great king Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, while on a visit to these parts, was greatly attracted by the sight of a beautiful hillock on the banks of the Ganga and decided to found a vihāra at the place. The vihāra, which thus came to be built at the end of 8th century A.D., grew into a great seat of learning two and a half centuries later. The number of students who came from foreign parts to study here was greater than at Nalanda Among the teachers who taught at Vikramaśīlā were 108 scholars, eight famous savants, and the great scholar Ratnākaraśānti who was the head of the vihāra. Śāntibhadra, Maitrīpā (Avadhūtipā), Ḍombīpā Sthavirabhadra, Smṛtyākara-Siddha (a Kashmiri) and Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna were among the eight great paṇḍits.

There was a beautiful temple of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara at the centre of the vihara, besides the fifty-three big and small temples in the compound. Among the gods and goddesses worshipped in these temples, there were some beautiful Tāntric icons. The other three vihāras also belonged to the kingdom of the Pālas, who had special ties with Vikramaśilā. The eighty-four Siddhas lived during the Pāla regime (765—1200 A.D.) and most of them were connected with Vikramaśilā in one way or another. According to Tibetan writers, the Tāntrics of Vikramaśilā had put the Turks to flight many times by magic spells, but history has a different story to tell.

In the middle of the 9th century A.D., the Tibetan Prince, Ñi-Ma-Gon, moved to the west and founded a new kingdom. At his death it was divided into three, and a part given to one of his sons, Lde-Chug-gon. This king showed so much zeal for Buddhism that Cakrasena, another son, became a Buddhist monk and assumed the name Jñānaprabha.

It must be remembered that Buddhism came to Tibet at a time when India was entering the age of Tantrism. In fact by Jñānaprabha's time, Tantrism had devoured all the religions of India. In spite of this, Jñānaprabha himself was not attracted to Tantrism. On the contrary, he wrote a book against it. The Tāntrics of Tibet believe that the royal ascetic went to hell for writing this book.

Jñānaprabha was the eldest son of the king of Guge (Shen-shung) and had become bhikṣu. He had read the scriptures, was a rationalist, and had inherited from his forefathers a great faith in Buddhism.

He realized, however, that the task of combating the evils of Tantrism was so stupendous that his single-handed efforts would not suffice. He therefore selected 21 intelligent Tibetan youths, educated them for ten years in the country, and then sent them to Kashmir for higher studies. None of these, however, could stand the rigours of Kashmir's climate, and all of them died except Ratnabhadra (Rin-Chhen-Zang-Po) and Suprajña (Legs-Pahi-Shes-Rab).

Ratnabhadra is considered to be the greatest translator in Tibet. When he returned at the end of his studies, Devaguru Jñānaprabha was naturally delighted, but the work of reform for which he had striven so hard was too large an undertaking for an individual. He came to the conclusion that since the students from Tibet found it very difficult to stand the climate of India, it would be better if some scholar were to come from India and work in Tibet.

Students from western Tibet used to come to the Indian mahāvihāras for study. Jñānaprabha came to learn from them that there was a great scholar called Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna in the Vikramaśilā mahāvihara. Accordingly, he sent a party, properly equipped for the long journey, to Vikramaśilā to invite Dīpaṅkara to Tibet. The mission failed, however, for the party could not prevail upon the master to undertake a journey to Tibet.

Jñānaprabha was not one to be daunted by failure. He decided to send another party, but funds were lacking, so he went to the Gartog Province to collect gold. This probably refers to a place named Gartog, which was situated to the north of the Mānasarovar lake and had a gold mine. It is recorded that the king of Gartog put him under arrest and held him up for a big ransom. When the news of Jñānaprabha's arrest reached his son, Bodhiprabha (Byang Chub Od), he thought that he had collected enough money to effect his release. The amount, however, proved inadequate, but before he could go back to obtain more money, he went to see his father in prison. "My son," said Jñānaprabha, "you know I am grown old. Even if I do not die immediately, I am likely to do so within the next ten years. So, if you squander money on me, we shall not be able to send for a scholar from India. How splendid it would be if I were to die for the sake of the great cause and you could send all the gold to India to fetch the scholar! Moreover, it is not certain that the king will release me even after he has received the stipulated amount of gold. So, my son, instead of worrying about me, you had better send an emissary to

Atiśa. I am sure he will agree to come to the country of the Bhots (Tibet), especially when he hears about my present plight, for he will take pity on us. If for some reason he cannot come, then you should send for some other scholar who has worked under him." Thus Devaguru put his hand on his son and blessed him as he took leave of him for the last time.

At that time, it was customary to call all royal monks Devaguru (Lha Bla-ma). Devaguru Bodhiprabha began to look for people who would act as emissaries for the mission entrusted to him by his father. The Upāsaka Guṅ-Thaṅ-Pa had been to India and lived there for two years. Devaguru secured his services for this work. Guṅ Thaṅ persuaded Bhikṣu Chul-Khrims[1]-Gyal-Va (Śīlajaya or Jayaśīla), an inhabitant of Nag Choho, and some other people to accompany him. In all, some ten people reached Vikramaśilā by way of Nepal. The beloved disciple of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna wrote in the Guruguṇadharmākara, the biography of his teacher, that when these ten men reached the banks of the Ganga, the sun had already set. The boatman whose boat was already full said that he would come back to take them across the river. But as it was getting late, the Tibetan travellers began to have doubts about his return. They suspected foul play, so they concealed the gold in the sand and were preparing to spend the night there when the boatman returned.

The travellers said, "We thought you would not return." "How could I leave you on the banks of the river and thus break the royal law?" the boatman replied.

By the time the boatman took them across the river, the gates had closed; so he advised the travellers to spend the night in the inn outside the western gate. "When the gate opens in the morning, you may go in", he added.

Just above the gate, there lived a bhikṣu called Tson Seṅ (Vikramasingh), who heard the travellers talking in his mother tongue. Naturally, his curiosity was aroused and he enquired about the newcomers. Vikramasingh came from

1. Pron. *Thim.*

Gya, the last Ladakh village on the way to Kulu, which is no longer inhabited.

When Vikramasingh was told about the object of their visit, he advised them not to say outright that they had come to take Atiśa to Tibet. He told them to say that they had come to study, otherwise they could not hope to succeed in their mission. He also promised to take them to Atiśa at a suitable time.

A few days after their arrival, a congregation of scholars met at Vikramaśīlā. Vikramasingh took his compatriots there and they were able to see the scholars, especially Ratnakīrti, Tathagatarakṣita, Sumatikīrti, Vairocanarakṣita and Kanakaśrī, who worked under Atiśa. They also saw for themselves the high esteem in which Atiśa was held.

After a few days, Vikramasingh took his countrymen to meet the master. They saluted Atiśa, placed the gold before him, and told him the tragic story of the death of the royal ascetic, Jñānaprabha, in prison.

Dīpaṅkara was much moved and he said, "There is no doubt that Jñānaprabha was a Bodhisattva, the Buddha to be, because he had sacrificed himself for the Dharma. I will fulfil his desire, but you must realize that the heavy responsibility for 108 temples rests on my shoulders. I have, moreover, many other duties to attend to. It will take me eighteen months to be relieved of these duties. Then only shall I be able to go to Tibet. In the mean time you must keep this gold."

The Tibetan travellers showed the utmost satisfaction at these words of Atiśa and settled down there, ostensibly to study. Atiśa also began to make preparations for his departure. At this time (1030 A.D.) he was 57-58 years old, but his age did not stand in the way of his resolution. At the opportune moment, Dīpaṅkara informed Ratnākaraśānti, the Chief Abbot of the mahavihāra, about his intentions. Ratnākara was reluctant to let him go and said to Guṅ Thaṅ Pa and his friends, "My Tibetan friends, you say that you have come here to study, but have you not really come to

take Atiśa away? At present Atiśa is the eye of India. Are you not aware that the Turks are knocking at the western gates of the country? If Atiśa were to leave at this juncture, then the sun of the Dharma preached by the Lord will set."

Ten years earlier, in 1029 A.D., Mahmud had passed away, but the Panjab was still under Ghazni domination. Buddhism had almost disappeared from Central Asia with the impact of Islam. Mahmud's son, Masud (1030—1040 A.D.), was all the time poised to invade Kanauj. In the course of the bloody wars in Central Asia, hundreds of Buddhist vihāras had been ruined. Thousands of bhikṣus had come to India as refugees and found shelter in the vihāras of India. Thousands of homeless men and women wandered all over the country.

At last, the Chief of the mahāvihāra allowed Atiśa to go to Tibet. Atiśa sent for the gold, a quarter of which he gave to the paṇḍits, a quarter for worship in Vajrāsana at Bodh Gaya, a quarter to Ratnākaraśāntipāda and the rest to the king for various religious works. Then he sent some of the Tibetans with his own men to Nepal, and with the interpreter, Vikrama of Gaya, and some other men, altogether twelve people, Atiśa set out for Bodh Gaya. Before leaving India, he felt the need to see once more the place where Siddhārtha Gautama had become the Buddha.

Atiśa visited Vajrāsana and many other holy places. Then along with the scholars, Kṣitigarbha and 19 others, he reached a small vihāra on the frontier of India. Ḍom-ton-pa writes, "at the time the master left India, Buddhism was, as it were, at its lowest ebb." Near the frontier, Atiśa found three helpless puppies. He took pity on them, took them in his lap and fondled them. It is said that even today the race of those puppies is to be found in Dān (Tibet).

Having crossed the border, Atiśa and his party entered Nepal and arrived at the capital in due course. At this time, King Jayakāmadeva of the Thākurī Dynasty was probably the ruler of the country. He showed them the utmost

respect and asked them to stay in Nepal. Atiśa could not refuse his request and lived there for one year. During this period he initiated one of the princes of the royal blood into the Order.

It is from Nepal that the master wrote a letter to King Nayapāla (1040—55 A.D.) of the Pāla dynasty. The letter is available in its Tibetan translation in the Tanjur Collection.[1] Similar letters written by the Buddhist masters from India are preserved in their Tibetan translations.[2]

Leaving Nepal behind, the master and his party reached the Thuṅ vihāra, but meanwhile Vikramasingh, the interpreter, had fallen ill. He did not recover in spite of all the medical care bestowed on him. Atiśa was greatly distressed and lost all hope of ever reaching Tibet. "With the interpreter dead, it is useless for me to go to Tibet", he said.

However, there were other interpreters, such as Jayaśila, who consoled him. As he entered the kingdom of Guge, the men sent by the royal ascetic Bodhiprabha were already there to welcome him. Everywhere arrangements were made to make the stay of the master and his retinue comfortable. The people vied with one another in doing honour to him. Before reaching Tho-liṅ, the capital of Mṅaḥ Ris in the Mānasarovar region, in the year 'water-man-horse' (Citra-bhānu, 1042 A.D.), the king came to receive him reverentially and took him to the Tho-liṅ vihāra. This vihāra had been built by the late king Jñānaprabha. The master stayed in this vihāra for nine months and preached the Dharma. Here he translated many books and wrote his famous work, the Bodhipatha-pradīpa. The Tibetan translation of this book is still extant. Atiśa lived in the Mānasarovar province for three years. Then he went to Puraṅ (Spu Raṅs) to the east of Mānasarovar in the year 'tree-man-monkey' (1044 A.D.). It was here that his very dear and devoted disciple, Ḍom-Ton-Pa, met his preceptor. He

1. Mdo-ḥgrel, XCIV, 33,3. *Sthavira-mahāpaṇḍita-Dīpaṅkara-Śrījñānena preṣito "Vimalārthalekho"*.

2. See List I in Appendix to this Chapter.

followed him everywhere like a shadow until the day he died in 1054 A.D. He wrote a biography of his guru, which is called the Guruguṇadharmākara.

From far and near, people came to listen to the great scholar who was always on the move and was honoured everywhere. His knowledge of the Tibetan language was elementary. In fact, the story goes that he did not know the difference between the words for 'pebble' and 'stone slab'. Truly speaking, Atiśa had little time to spare for the Tibetan language. Besides travelling, he had to write books and translate or review many important Sanskrit books. His insufficient knowledge of the language of the country, however, was no obstacle to Atiśa, for he always had a competent interpreter with him. The great master Ratnabhadra, who had been sent by Jñānaprabha to Kashmir, had returned as a great scholar of Sanskrit. He was at first not in a mood to receive the Indian scholar properly. Gradually, however, he was so greatly impressed by his scholarship and his kind behaviour that he became one of his staunchest devotees and assisted him in translating many important books.

During the latter part of his long stay of thirteen years in Tibet, Atiśa spent three years in mṄaḥ Ris, four years in middle Tibet and six years in Ñe Thaṅ. He went to the Sam-ye vihāra in central Tibet in the year 'fire-man-boar' (1047 A.D.). This was the first vihāra founded by the Indian master Śāntarakṣita in Tibet during the regime of Emperor Khri[1]-Sroṅ-lde-btsan (755—80 A.D.) and it was here that Tibetans were initiated for the first time as bhikṣus. Many Sanskrit books were also translated here. The library at this vihāra was so rich that the master was surprised to find certain books that were not to be found in the vihāras of India. Unfortunately, this vihāra was later reduced to ashes, although it was rebuilt in the first half of the 13th century by the interpreter, Vajraśrī (Dorje Dpal). Dīpaṅkara is remembered in all the places he visited even to this day.

1. Pron. *Ṭhi*.

He stayed in Yer-Va in the year 'iron-man-tiger' (1050 A.D.). This place lies to the north-east of Lhasa, a day's journey from Lhasa. It is here, in 1051 A.D., that he wrote his commentary on the Kālacakra. Half a day's journey to the south of Lhasa, there is a place called Ñe Thaṅ, the last place where Atiśa lived. Here, in the year 'tree-man-horse' (1054 A.D.), on the 18th day of the 8th lunar month, this great savant passed away at the age of seventy-three.

C. In China

Kumārajīva

Kumārajīva[1] (transliterated from the Chinese Ciu-mo-lo-shi) was born of an Indian father and a Kuchean mother. His father, Kumārāyana, came from an illustrious family but for some reason left the country and after an arduous journey across the Pamirs arrived in Kuci. Here Jīvā, a princess of the royal family of Kuci, fell in love with him and ultimately married him. Kumārajīva was born of this union at Kara-shahr. Soon afterwards, Jīvā was converted to Buddhism and became a nun. Kumārajīva began his education in Kuci but when he was nine years old his mother took him to Kashmir to give him a thorough grounding in Buddhist literature and philosophy.

His teacher in Kashmir was Bandhudatta who was later to be converted to the Mahāyāna faith through the discourses of his one-time pupil. In a few years Kumārajīva acquired great proficiency in all branches of Buddhist learning, and at last returned to Kuci with his mother. On the way he visited several centres of Buddhist studies in Central Asia.

It is said that on their way back to Kuci, mother and son met an Arhat who prophesied that if Jīvā carefully guarded her son against the temptations of youth and if he remained blameless till his thirty-fifth year, he would one day be able to propagate the doctrine of the Buddha among the common people and thus bring them salvation.

1. 344-413 A.D.

Kumārajīva acquired such eminence as a scholar that he attracted to himself Buddhists from Khotan, Kashgar, Yarkand, and other parts of Eastern Turkestan

While on a visit to Kashgar in 355 A.D., Kumārajīva was introduced by Sūryasoma in the Mahayana doctrine and made a special study of the Madhyamika treatises. Vimalākṣa, a Buddhist monk of Kashmir, who had travelled to China by the Central Asian route early in the 5th century, also instructed Kumārajīva in the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya and subsequently collaborated with him in the work of translation for which Kumārajīva is famous.

Not long after his return from Kashmir, a Chinese expeditionary force was led against Kuci by Lü Kuang on account of a rupture in the political relations of the two countries. Kumārajīva was brought in 401 A.D. as a captive to China, where he was already known. Scholars from all parts of the country came to visit him and many stayed behind as disciples.

Chinese Chronicles record that, in the year 405 A.D., the king of the Tsin dynasty showed great respect to Kumārajīva. During the latter's nine years at Changan, he organized a translation bureau to which more than eight hundred priests and scholars were attached. It is said that the king, himself an ardent disciple of the new religion, held the original texts in his hand as the work of translation proceeded and that during that time more than three hundred volumes were prepared under the supervision of Kumārajīva. Until he died, in 413 A.D., he continued to devote his missionary zeal and the knowledge he had gained to the propagation of Buddhism, with the result that a large number of Buddhist monasteries were established in North China. Nine-tenths of the ordinary people are said to have been converted to the faith of the great Indian genius. One of the reasons why Kumārajīva and the faith he expounded were held in high esteem in China was probably the fact that Buddhism enjoyed the patronage of the Imperial House.

Kumārajīva is traditionally regarded as the first teacher

of Mādhyamika doctrines in China and an expounder of Ch'eng-shih-tsung (the Satyasiddhi school) and also of Nieh-p'an-tsung (the Nirvāṇa school).

The work of Kumārajīva heralded a new epoch in the spread of Buddhism to China. With his deep knowledge of Buddhist philosophy and its various schools and his command of Sanskrit and Chinese, Kumārajīva was able to bring greater clarity and distinction to his translations than the earlier missionaries had done.

Between 402 A.D. and 412 A.D., Kumārajīva translated numerous works, and wrote a treatise and a number of verses in Chinese. More than 3,000 priests became his disciples and ten of them subsequently became famous authors of Buddhist treatises.

The following are some of the important texts translated by Kumārajīva:

- Ta-c'-tu-lun (the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra). Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1169.
- Pai-lun (the Śata-śāstra), No. 1188.
- Fo-shwo-o-mi-to-cin (the Sukhāvatyamṛta-vyūha), No. 200.
- Miao-fa-lien-hwa-cin (the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra), No. 134.
- Mo-ho-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-cin (the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra), No. 3.
- Cin-kan-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-cin (the Vajrachedikā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra), No. 10.

When Kumārajīva was on his death-bed, he is reported to have told his followers to accept his work but not to look upon his life as an ideal one. "The lotus grows in the mud," he said, "love the lotus but not the mud."

Kumarājīva is a symbol of the spirit of cultural co-operation between India and Central Asia and of the efforts made by Buddhist scholars to spread Indian culture in China.

Paramārtha

Paramārtha[1] (Po-lo-mo-tho), also known as Cen-ti or Cu-na-lo-tho, Tshin-i, and Guṇarata, was a śramaṇa of Yiu-shan-ni, or Ujjain in western India, which was a great centre of Sanskrit scholarship.

It is believed that after Paramārtha completed his Buddhist education at Ujjain he went to North India and probably settled in Pāṭaliputra. About the same time a Chinese emperor had sent a mission to Magadha to request the king to send a scholar who could teach the gospel of the Buddha to China. It is generally accepted that Paramārtha accompanied the Chinese envoys back to China in response to this request. He carried with him a large collection of Buddhist texts and travelled by the sea route, arriving in Nanking (Kien-yeh) in 548 A.D. In accordance with the desire of the emperor, he began to translate the texts he had brought with him and laboured continuously for nearly ten years. Thereafter he was compelled to wander from place to place on account of political upheavals in China. An attempt made by him to sail to the South Sea Islands proved unsuccessful on account of unfavourable winds. The last years of his life were spent in solitude and retirement and when he died in 569 A.D. at the age of seventy-one he had left behind Chinese translations of nearly 70 Buddhist treatises.

Paramārtha, Bodhiruci, and Yuan Chwang were the three main representatives of the Vijñāna school who translated Sanskrit texts into Chinese.

Paramārtha's career of translating Sanskrit texts can be divided into two parts, namely, the period from 548 to 557 A.D. and that from 557 to 569 A.D. During the first phase he translated about 10 works, of which six were in existence in 730 A.D. In the second period, he worked on numerous texts under the patronage of the Han dynasty and continued his labours till he died in 569 A.D.

Paramārtha established the She-lun-tsung (the Mahāyāna-

1. 513-569 A.D.

samparigraha-śāstra school) in China. This school was based upon many Sanskrit texts translated by him, the most important being the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra, a basic text of that school. This school had eminent disciples and prevailed among Buddhist scholars in China for about 80 years. However, like other Buddhist schools in China, this school, too, suffered from general political restrictions, the deterioration of temples, and the loss of popular support. Besides these conditions, the popularity of the Dharmalakṣaṇa school established by Yuan Chwang might also be considered one of the reasons for the decline of the She-lun-tsung (the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra school).

Paramārtha greatly emphasized the necessity of studying the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra, but Yuan Chwang, in his turn, translated the Vidyāmātrasiddhi-śāstra (Chen-wei-shi-lun) and laid emphasis upon the necessity for the study of selected texts, which consist of six sūtras and eleven śāstras, and include the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra.

Thus the She-lun-tsung (the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra school) established by Paramārtha was absorbed by the Dharmalakṣaṇa school founded by Yuan Chwang. This school was called the New Translation Method while the She-lun-tsung founded by Paramārtha was known as the Old Translation Method.

In spite of the fact that the She-lun-tsung was absorbed by another school, it is a permanent Chinese Buddhist institution, since the correct understanding of the Vijñānavāda philosophy can come only through a comparative study of the Dharmalakṣaṇa and the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra schools.

Paramārtha's translation of Sanskrit texts runs into 275 volumes, of which the most important are as follows:

1. Fo-shwo-cie-tsie-cin (the Sandhinirmocana-sūtra), Nanjio, No. 151.
2. Cin-kan-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-cin (the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra), No. 10.

3. Sho-ta-shan-lun (the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra), No. 1183.
4. Kun-pien-fan-pieh-lun (the Madhyāntavibhāga-śāstra), No. 1248.
5. O-phi-ta-mo-ku-sho-shih-lun (the Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-śāstra), No. 1269.
6. Sho-ta-shan-lun-shih (the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra-vyākhyā), No. 1171(2).
7. Luh-'rh-shi-'rh-min-liao-lun (the Vinaya-dvāviṃśati-prasannārtha-śāstra), No. 1139.
8. Shi-pa-khun-lun (the Aṣṭādaśakāśa or the Aṣṭādaśa-sūnyatā-śāstra), No. 1187.

Bodhidharma

It has been established that Bodhidharma[1] or Dharmabodhi (Ta-ma-phu-thi) was a śramaṇa in India and that he left India for China in 526 A.D. with the special purpose of propagating his system of philosophy but the details of his life are not clearly known.

According to historians, Bodhidharma denied canon reading, and his system therefore made the Buddhist monasteries much less intellectual and much more meditative than they were ever before.

When Bodhidharma came to China, he was received with the honour due to him, and invited to Nanking by Liang Wu-ti, an emperor of southern China. A discussion he is believed to have had with the emperor is reproduced here, for it makes his doctrine clear:

The emperor said, "Since my succession to the throne I have been incessantly establishing temples and so on. How much merit may I expect for that good conduct?" The reply came, "none". The emperor asked, "Why none?" Bodhidharma answered, "All these things are merely insignificant effects of an imperfect cause. It is the shadow following the substance and is without real entity." The emperor said, "Then, what is merit in the true sense of the word?"

1 Died in 528 or 536 A.D.

Bodhidharma replied, "It consists in purity and enlightenment, completeness and depth. Merit as such cannot be accumulated by worldly means". The emperor asked, "Which is the most important of the sacred doctrines?" Bodhidharma replied, "Everything is non-substantiality, and there is no such thing as 'sacred'." The emperor asked, "Who is he that replies to me?" Bodhidharma replied, "I myself do not know who he is!"

As is clear from this dialogue, the essential core of Bodhidharma's doctrine is the philosophy of emptiness (śūnyatā), and śūnyatā is beyond demonstration of any kind. Therefore, Bodhidharma also replied in the negative form. When we speak of the Buddhist influence on the life and literature of the Chinese people, we have to keep this mystic trend of Bodhidharma's philosophy in mind, for there is no doubt that it has had a great deal to do with the moulding of the spirit of Chinese Buddhism from which Japanese Zen Buddhism (Contemplative Buddhism) has been derived with modifications to render it suitable to the genius of the Japanese people.

It is sometimes said that the Meditative school of Bodhidharma is not a proper form of Buddhism at all, but a syncretism of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Such a supposition is not correct, for, as Bodhidharma said, the spirit of Buddhism is the spirit of the Meditative school.

Bodhidharma's Meditative school naturally underwent many changes as it grew in the Chinese environment. The discipline of this school is akin to that of the Franciscan Order, and its monastic life still exercises a powerful spiritual influence among the Chinese, and especially among the Japanese intelligentsia.

Bodhidharma himself recognized no sanctity in canon reading, and laid stress on meditation, by which alone enlightenment should be attained. Therefore, he translated no more than one work, the exact date of which is not known. That work is Ta-pan-nie-phan-cin-lun (the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra-śāstra), No. 1206. Bodhidharma had five successors,

who led quiet lives like Bodhidharma, and were held in high esteem by the emperors of the T'ang dynasty.

Yuan Chwang

Yuan Chwang[1] was a Chinese śramaṇa of Lo-yan in Ho-nan, who received his ordination at Chen-tu, in 622 A.D. Under the patronage of the Eastern T'sin dynasty (317—420 A.D.), Yuan Chwang became one of the most noteworthy scholars in China, both as a writer of historical records (Ta-tan-si-yu-ki) and as a translator of Sanskrit texts.

He started on his well-known journey to India in 629 A.D., and returned to the capital of China in 645 A.D. during the Cen-kwan period. He started the work of translating shortly afterwards and was employed in this pursuit until he died in 664 A.D. in his sixty-fifth year. While he was in India, he had lived in the monastery of Nalanda for five years and devoted himself to the study of Brahmanical literature and Buddhist canons. The knowledge and experience thus gained stood him in good stead in the course of his work and he translated as many as 75 treatises into 1,335 fasciculi.

While he was in India, Yuan Chwang studied the Vijñānavāda philosophy under the guidance of Śīlabhadra and introduced the Vijñanavada philosophy of Dharmarakṣita. Thus, he became the founder of the Dharmalakṣaṇa school which is based on the Vijñanavāda texts and their commentaries.

Yuan Chwang brought with him from India 115 grains of relics taken from the Buddha's seat, a gold statue of the Buddha with a transparent pedestal, and other images of the Buddha made of silver and carved sandal-wood. He also took with him an extensive collection of Sanskrit texts which he translated in China.

The voluminous contribution made by him to Chinese literature through translations from Sanskrit texts consists of

1. 602-664 A. D.

the following according to Khai-Yuen-lu:

Ta-Shan-pu (Mahāyāna)	...	416	works
Shang-tsu-pu (Theravāda)	...	14	„
San-mi-ti-pu (Sāmmitīyas)	...	15	„
Mi-sha-se-pu (Mahīśāsakas)	...	22	„
Kin-she-pi-ye-pu (Kāśyapīyas)	...	17	„
Fa-mi-pu (Dharmaguptas)	...	42	„
Shwo-i-tsie-yu-pu (Sarvāstivādas)	...	67	„
Ta-shung-pu (Mahāsaṅghika)	...	15	„
Yin-lun (Hetuśāstra)	...	36	„
Shen-lun (Śabdaśāstra)	...	13	„

These works, numbering 657, were carried by twenty-two horses. Soon after he came back to China, he went to Ch'ang-an to translate them.

Yuan Chwang was also a distinguished litterateur in addition to being a translator of unusual merit. When he was considering the propriety of following Paramārtha's method which sometimes omitted repetitions and made certain additions, Yuan Chwang was deterred by a dream and resolved to do a free translation in order to make the original meaning clear. Along with his disciples, Yuan Chwang followed a method of translation which was a departure from that followed by Paramārtha. Yuan Chwang's method of translation subsequently came to be called the 'New Method', while that of Paramārtha was known as the 'Old Method'. Thus, the academic tendency in the translation of Paramārtha and his disciples was replaced by the freedom of Yuan Chwang and his school.

Under the patronage of the emperor, the Buddhist activities of Yuan Chwang and his school flourished satisfactorily, but the situation of Buddhism deteriorated considerably during the time of the sixth emperor of the T'ang dynasty.

Early in the eighth century, the Confucianists started a movement to suppress Buddhism. In 714 A.D., Yen Ts'ung pronounced the view that Buddhism was pernicious to the

country, and ascribed to Buddhism the early termination of those dynasties that had been favourable to it. As a result of an edict issued at this time, nearly 12,000 priests and nuns were compelled to abandon their vocations and return to the lay life. During the reign of Queen Wu, there was a ban on the writing of sacred books and the building of temples.

The several hundred years during which the work of translation progressed in China can be divided historically into three periods of which the following dates are symbolic:

1. 67 A.D., when Buddhism entered China for the first time.
2. 405 A.D., the age of Kumārajīva.
3. 646 A.D., the age of Yuan Chwang.

According to historians, Yuan Chwang was assisted in the work of translation and revision by some Sanskrit scholars. It is also said that, at the request of Yuan Chwang, the emperor issued an order that five new monks should be received into every monastery. The total number of monasteries in the empire at that time was 3,716.

Of the works translated by Yuan Chwang and his disciples, the following are the most important:

1. Ta-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-to-cin (the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra), Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1.
2. Wei-shi-san-shi-lun (Vidyāmātrasiddhi-tridaśa-śāstra), No. 1215.
3. Ta-shan-chan-yeh-lun (the Karmasiddhaprakaraṇa-śāstra), No. 1221.
4. Wei-shi'rh-shi-lun (the Vidyāmātrasiddhi-śāstra), No. 1240.
5. Pien-cun-pien-lun (the Madhyāntavibhāga-śāstra), No. 1244.
6. Sho-ta-shan-lun-pan (the Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstramūla), No. 1247.
7. O-phi-ta-mo-shun-can-li-lun (the Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra-śāstra), No. 1265.

8. Yin-min-nin-can-li-lun (the Hetuvidyā-nyāyapraveśa-śāstra), No. 1216.
9. Yin-min-can-li-man-lun-pan (the Nyāyadvāratarka-śāstra), No. 1224.
10. Nan-twan-cin-kan-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-cin (the Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra), No. 13.

Bodhiruci

Bodhiruci[1], the literal translation of whose name is Ciao-ai, or 'intelligence-loving', was originally called Ta-mo-liu-ci, or Dharmaruci. The latter name can be translated as Fa-hhi, literally 'law-loving'. The original name, Dharmaruci, was changed to Bodhiruci by order of the empress Wu Tso-thien (684—705 A.D.). Bodhiruci was a śramaṇa of southern India who came from a Brāhmaṇa family of Kāśyapa Gotra.

During the days of the early T'ang dynasty, many renowned Buddhist monks came to China from Ceylon, India and Japan. Bodhiruci was among those foreign Buddhists who came to settle permanently in China.

According to a Chinese chronicle, Bodhiruci studied such sciences as astronomy, medicine, geography and divinity, etc., and became a Buddhist in his twelfth year.

Yaśaghoṣa, a Mahāyāna thera, recognized his extraordinary abilities and instructed him in Buddhist practices. Within a period of only three years, Bodhiruci became well-acquainted with the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. When the emperor heard of his activities, he invited him to the capital, where Bodhiruci translated, in 693 A.D., the Fo-shwo-pao-yu-cin (the Ratnamegha-sūtra, Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 151).

Just before his death, he abstained from all meals, holding and worshipping Sanskrit texts. When he was about to die, he asked his followers to leave him, and passed away in his solitary room. It is said that Bodhiruci was in his 156th year when he died in 727 A.D., having devoted his entire life to the work of translating Sanskrit texts.

The regime of the T'ang rulers was favourable to Bud-

1. 571-727 A. D.

dhism and such scholars as Yuan Chwang and Bodhiruci freely translated many Buddhist texts brought from India.

In 693—713 A.D., Bodhiruci translated 53 works which ran into 111 fasciculi. Of these, 12 were already missing in 730 A.D. In the history of Buddhism in China there were two outstanding scholars who were both called Bodhiruci. One of these worked under the patronage of the T'ang dynasty while the other was the founder of Ti-lun-tsung (the Daśabhūmika school) under the Wei dynasty. Although the former Bodhiruci was not a founder of any school, he was recognized as one of the greatest translators of Buddhist texts.

His most important translations are:

1. Shih-sian-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-cin (the Prajñāpāramitā-ardhaśatikā), Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 18.
2. Ta-pao-tsi-cin (the Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra), No. 23.
3. Wu-lian-sheu-ju-lai-hwui (the Amitāyuṣa-vyūha), No. 23(5).
4. Wan-shu-sh'-li-phu-man-hwui (the Samantamukha-parivarta), No. 23(10).
5. Yiu-po-li-hwui (the Vinayaviniścaya-Upāli-paripṛcchā), No. 23(24).
6. Mi-lo-phu-sa-su-wan-hwui (the Maitreya-paripṛcchā), No. 23(42).
7. Ta-shan-cin-kan-ci-cu-phu-sa-siu-hhin-fan-cin (the Mahāyānavajra - cuḍāmaṇi-bodhisattva-caryā-varga-sūtra), No. 86.
8. Fo-shwo-pao-yu-cin (the Ratnamegha-sūtra), No. 151.
9. Ta-shan-cie-ye-shan-tin-cin (the sūtra of the Mahāyāna), No. 241.
10. Wan-shu-sh'-li-pao-tsan-tho-lo-ni-cin (the Mañjuśrī-ratnagarbhadhāraṇī-sūtra), No. 448.

D. In Japan

There are 13 principal sects of Buddhism in Japan and the founder of each is regarded in that country as a great

Buddhist monk. An account is given below of the four monks who contributed most to the establishment of Japanese Buddhism.

Kukai

No other monk has been more popular than Kukai[1] among the Japanese nor regarded with greater respect throughout the ages. He is even more famous among a group of people known as the Kobo Daishi. As a monk of the Shingon sect he systematized the doctrine of his sect by writing Ju-ju-shin-ron (a treatise on the ten stages of the mind), Ken-mitsunikyo-ron (a treatise on the distinction between Tāntric Buddhism and other sects) and other works. His contribution to Japanese culture in the field of the arts, education, and social welfare was considerable. A poem, popular even now, in which the principal doctrine of Buddhism is taught in easy, beautiful Japanese and which consists of the forty-seven letters of the Japanese alphabet, called Iroha-uta, is also attributed to him. He died at Kongobuji, the leading monastery of the Shingon sect, but his followers think that he merely entered into Nyujo, *i.e.*, eternal samadhi.

Shinran

Shiran[2], the founder of the Jodo-shin sect, is the most important personality by whose efforts Buddhism penetrated deep into the hearts of the common people of Japan. Quite unlike the other Buddhist monks, he lived an ordinary life and never called himself a teacher. During the long 90 years of his life, he spent many years in the country among farmers and peasants and found among them a number of 'fellow-devotees'. He wrote in easy Japanese many articles which showed his profound devotion to Amitābha Buddha. Of these, 'Tannisho' and 'Kyo-gyo-shinsho' are the most important.

1. 774-835 A.D.
2. 1175-1262 A.D.

Dogen

Dogen[1], the founder of the Soto Zen sect, is known not only for his stern religious character but also as one of the most prominent philosophers of Japan.

As a monk of Zen Buddhism he cared little for worldly honour. He lived a life of strict discipline and devoted himself to discovering those individuals who were really worthy of being the teachers of mankind through Zen meditation. Residing at Eiheiji, the leading monastery of the Soto sect, which he had founded, he laid down rules of conduct in Zen monasteries which were accepted by all followers of Zen Buddhism in Japan. He gave regular sermons at Eiheiji to his disciples who collected and published them after his death. Of these sermons, the most important is called 'Sho-bo-gen-zo (the Essence of the True Doctrine), which is considered to be one of the most eminent philosophical works in Japan, not only by his followers but also by the philosophers of other schools.

Nichiren

Nichiren[2] was as eminent a Buddhist monk as he was a great patriot. He lived during the period when Japan was faced with the danger of invasion by the Mongolian Emperor of China. He was convinced that the Buddhism taught in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra was the only real one and that it alone could save his nation from the danger of foreign invasion. His life was a succession of persecutions by the Government on account of his views. Nevertheless, the burning patriotism he preached in his sermons as well as his simple doctrine gained for him much sympathy and devotion among the Japanese people. The sect founded by him was called the Nichiren sect after him, and he was looked upon by the followers of the Nichiren sect as a 'Mahābodhisattva' who saved the nation.

1. 1200-1253 A.D.
2. 1222-1282 A.D.

APPENDIX

LIST NO. 1

Letters of Indian Paṇḍits preserved in Tibetan

From	To	Name	Time	Tanjur (Mdo-ḥgrel)
Mātṛceṭa .	Kaniṣka .	Mahārāja Kaniṣka.	1st century A.D.	Gi 34, Ne 29
Nāgārjuna .	Udāyibhadra (Śātavāhana)	Suhṛllekha	2nd century A.D.	Gi 32, Ne 27
Candragomin	Vīraratna-kīrti	Śiṣyalekha .	6th century A.D.	Gi 33, Ne 28
Jitāri* .	..	Cittaratna-viśodhan-krama. .	11th century A.D.	Gi 39, Ne 30
Bodhibhadra (Somapurī).	..	Gurulekha .	Do.	Gi 39, Ne 31
Sajjana . .	Súkṣmajñāna	Putralekha .	Do.	Gi 39, Ne 32
Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna	Nayapāla .	Vimalaratna-lekha.	Do.	Gi 103, Ne 33
Jaganmitrā-nanda.	Jayacandra .	Candrarāja-lekha.	12th century A.D.	Gi 103, Ne 34

*Jetāri, according to the Tohoku University Catalogue (1934).

List No. 2

Some important works of Atiśa translated into Tibetan with the help of Tibetan translators

Name of Book	Author	Translator
Madhyamaka-ratnapradipa	Bhavya . .	Rgya Chon, Grus, Sen Ge (Vikramasingh)
Madhyamakahṛdaya-kārikā	Bhavya . .	(Nag. Cho) Chhul, Khrims rGyal Va (Śilajaya or Jayaśila), Lhasa.
Madhyamakahṛdaya-kārikā Vṛtti.	Bhavya . .	Do.
Madhyamakārtha-sangraha	Bhavya . .	Do.
Madhyamakabhramaghāta .	Āryadeva . .	Do.
Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa .	Candrakīrti . .	Do.
Ratnākaraṇḍodghāṭa . .	Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna	Rgya Lochavā and Śilajaya (Jayaśila).
Śikṣāsamuccayābhisamaya .	Suvarṇadvīpīya Dharmapāla	Śilajaya.
Bodhipathapradīpa . .	Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna	(Shu.) dGe-Vahi-Blo Gros.
Bodhipathapradīpa-pañjikā .	Do.	Śilajaya (Jayaśila).
Mahāsūtrasamuccaya . .	Do.	Jayānand and (Pa Chhab.) Ni Ma Grags.

CHAPTER X

Chinese Travellers

About the seventh century A.D., when Europe was still in the 'Dark Ages', India and China lived an intense political, intellectual, religious and artistic life. The common bond created between them by Buddhism generated a great current of humanism which spread from Ceylon to Japan. After a thousand years of eventful development, Buddhist mysticism reached its apogee and Indian aesthetics and philosophy received fresh inspiration from it. Śilabhadra of Nalanda and his pupil, Yuan Chwang, the Master of the Law from China, represent one aspect, while the outburst of naturalism in art at Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram) may be taken to represent another. Both were borne along by a current of creative forces of enduring value. China, realizing a new unity under strong T'ang rule, was hospitable to new ideas and ready to allow its force to be softened by the gentle influence of India. Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, only two well-known pilgrims among many, have left records which recall much of this vast movement in which even Japan had a share. The temple of Horyuji, founded by Shotoku Taisha at Nara in 607 A.D., still remains the time-honoured witness of this transformation Fa-hien, two centuries earlier, was its precursor, the earliest Chinese visitor to India to leave a record of his travels.

Fa-hien

Fa-hien, the first of the three Chinese pilgrims, has recorded his own travels. He practically walked all the way from Central China across the Gobi desert, over the

Hindu Kush and right across Northern India to the seaport of Tāmralipti in Bengal. There he embarked for Ceylon and returned to China by sea after an adventurous voyage marked by several hairbreadth escapes. He brought back with him what he had gone to seek in India—sacred books of Buddhism and images of Buddhist deities.

Fa-hien was distressed at the state of the Buddhist 'disciplines' in China, and made up his mind, together with several friends, to go to India and try to obtain the 'rules'. Starting from Chang-an and travelling by stages they reached Tun-huang at the end of the great wall; the governor of that place gave them all that was required to enable them to cross the Gobi desert. "In this desert", records Fa-hien, "there are a great many evil spirits and also hot winds; those who encounter them perish to a man. There are neither birds above nor beasts below. Gazing on all sides as far as eye can reach in order to mark the track, no guidance is to be obtained save from the rotting bones of dead men, which point the way."

He notices the prevalence of Indian culture in the states he visited in Central Asia. In the country of Shan-Shan (south of Lop-Nor) there were some four thousand priests of the Lesser Vehicle and the common people practised the religion of India with certain modifications. "From this point travelling westwards, the nations that one passes through are all similar in this respect . . . At the same time, all those who have 'left the family' (priests and novices) study Indian books and the Indian spoken language." The pilgrim spent two months and some days in Kara-shahr which also had over 4,000 priests of the Lesser Vehicle.

His next important stage was Khotan, a prosperous and happy State with tens of thousands of priests, mostly of the Greater Vehicle. Fa-hien and his companions were lodged in the large and comfortable Gomati Vihāra by the ruler of the country. Discipline in the vihāra was perfect. "At the sound of a gong, three thousand priests assemble to eat. When they enter the refectory, their demeanour is grave and

ceremonious; they sit down in regular order; they all keep silence; they make no clatter with their bowls, etc.; and they do not call out to the attendants to serve more food, but only make signs with their hands."

While some of his companions advanced to Kashgar, Fa-hien and others stayed behind in Khotan for three months to be able to witness the impressive procession of images in which the priests of the Gomati took the first place among the fourteen large monasteries (without counting the smaller ones) and the king and queen and the Court ladies also took part. The procession was like the Car Festival held in a large Indian temple to this day, only more gorgeous. "The cars are all different; each monastery has a day for its own procession, beginning on the first of the fourth moon and lasting until the fourteenth when the processions end and the king and queen go back to the palace."

Seven or eight *li*—a *li* is about a third of a mile—to the west of the city of Khotan was the king's New Monastery which took eighty years to build, was about 250 feet high and commanded the devotion and munificence of the kings of six countries.

After the processions were over, Fa-hien moved on and reached Kashgar after more than two months, in time to witness the pañca-pariṣad, 'the great quinquennial assembly held by the king of that country. Such an assembly was held in India at a later date by the great Harṣa Vardhana of Kanauj in the presence of Yuan Chwang.

The Kashgar assembly must, however, have been much smaller. The pious and credulous Fa-hien says of Kashgar, "This country has a spittoon which belonged to the Buddha; it is made of stone and is of the same colour as his alms bowl. There is also a relic of the Buddha's teeth, for which people have raised a pagoda." Many notes on relics and miracles can be found throughout the narrative, but we must pass them by, stopping to note only the most interesting or significant among them.

A particularly dangerous section of his route along the

Bolor-Tagh range and the first crossing of the Indus as described by Fa-hien are worth reproducing. "Keeping to the range, the party journeyed on in a south-westerly direction for fifteen days over a difficult, precipitous, and dangerous road, the side of the mountain being like a stone wall ten thousand feet in height. On nearing the edge, the eye becomes confused; and wishing to advance, the foot finds no resting place. Below, there is a river named Indus. The men of former times had cut away the rock to make a way down, and had placed ladders on the side of the rock. There are several hundred rock-steps in all; and when these and the ladders have been negotiated, the river is crossed by a suspension bridge of ropes. The two banks of the river are somewhat less than eighty paces apart."

After spending the next summer in retreat in Udyāna, then a flourishing centre of Buddhism, Fa-hien marched South to Gandhāra and Takṣaśilā, where the Master cut off his head for a fellow creature, and records the Buddha's prophecy that Kaniṣka would raise a pagoda in Peshawar. This pagoda was seen and described at length by Yuan Chwang, and its foundations are believed to have been discovered by archæologists. Fa-hien also writes: "Of all the pagodas and temples seen by the pilgrims, not one could compare with this in grandeur and dignity, and tradition says that of the various pagodas in the inhabited world this one takes the highest rank."

From Peshawar Fa-hien proceeded alone to Nagarahāra (Hadda), his companions having left him. That city had a shrine containing the Buddha's skull bone. It was sealed with eight seals every night for safety, each in the custody of one of the leading men in the city. "Every morning the king makes offerings and worships the relic." Half a yojana to the south of the city the pilgrim notes the cave inside which the Buddha left his shadow. "The kings of the various countries round about", he affirms, "have sent skilful artists to sketch it, but they have not been able to do so." Fa-hien also notes the other sacred spots and relics in the

neighbourhood.

In Afghanistan, which he entered after crossing the Safed Koh, there were three thousand priests belonging to both the Greater and Lesser Vehicles; there were the same number at Bannu, but all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle. Crossing the Panjab, the pilgrim reached the Mathura country after passing many monasteries where there were nearly ten thousand priests. Buddhism was very popular in the Mathura region and its priests were honoured by the people and the officials of the Court who waited personally upon them at table. "At the end of the meal they spread carpets on the ground, and sit down facing the president not venturing to sit on couches in the presence of priests"—an arrangement handed down from the days of the Buddha.

Then Fa-hien reached the Middle Kingdom, the heart of the Gupta Empire. His oft-quoted description of the country is brief but to the point: "It has a temperate climate, without frost or snow; and the people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the King's land have to pay so much on the profit they make. Those who want to go away may go; those who want to stop may stop. The King in his administration has no corporal punishments; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The men of the King's body-guard have all fixed salaries." In the rest of what he says, however, Fa-hien seems to apply to the whole country what he observed in the vihāras; for he affirms: "Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic." Again, "In this country they do not keep pigs or fowls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-place." He takes note particularly of the cāṇḍālas (untouchables) who lived apart, had to announce their presence on the roads in the city or near the market by beating a piece of wood, and were the only class that went hunting and dealt in flesh. Cowries were

used as a medium of exchange, and charitable endowments in favour of Buddhist priests were numerous, time-honoured and well respected. "Rooms with beds and mattresses, food and clothes are provided for resident and travelling priests without fail, and this is the same in all places."

Fa-hien then visited in succession Saṅkāśya (Kapitha); Kanyākubja (Kanauj)—'the city of hump-back maidens'; Shā-ki, Sāketa or Ayodhyā; Śrāvasti with its shrine of the Garden of Gold, a place where many miracles were performed and are duly noticed by the pilgrim; Kapilavastu, the city of Śuddhodana, the Buddha's father—'then just like a wilderness, except for priests and some tens of families'; Vaisali (Besarh); and the country of Magadha and the city of Pāṭaliputra where he saw the marvellous palace of Aśoka 'all built by spirits'. He has high praise for Magadha. "Of all the countries of central India, this has the largest cities and towns. Its people are rich and thriving and emulate one another in practising charity of heart and duty to one's neighbour. Regularly every year, on the eighth day of the second moon, they have a procession of images." He mentions the free hospitals in the cities with much admiration. From there he went to Nalanda (Bargaon), Rājagṛha and Gaya—'a complete waste within its walls', but surrounded by many hallowed spots, all duly noted by Fa-hien; Banaras, including the Deer Forest at Sarnath, where the Buddha preached his first sermon, and lastly Kauśāmbī with its garden of Ghociravana, the Ghoṣitārāma of recent discovery. At this point he records what he heard of the Pārāvata monastery in the Deccan; the account is unreliable and not easily matched by known facts.

From Banaras Fa-hien returned to Pāṭaliputra. What he records of his efforts to gain written texts of Buddhism is interesting. Usually, they were transmitted orally from generation to generation, and only at the shrine of the Garden of Gold in Śrāvasti in a monastery of the Greater Vehicle he 'obtained a copy according to the text accepted at the First Great Assembly and practised by priests gene-

rally while the Buddha was still alive'—a declaration that modern scholars will not be ready to accept. Fa-hien spent three years 'learning to write and speak Sanskrit (or Pali) and copying out the Disciplines'. He then moved on to Tamluk by way of Campā and stayed two years there 'copying out sūtras and drawing pictures of images' before embarking for Ceylon on his way back to China.

Sailing in a big merchant vessel with the first favourable monsoon wind, Fa-hien reached Ceylon in fourteen days and spent two years there collecting and copying Sanskrit texts unknown in China. Early in his stay on the island, Fa-hien felt homesick. "He had now been away from his own land of Han for many years . . . moreover, those who had travelled with him had left him—some remaining behind in these countries, others being dead. Now, beholding only his own shadow, he was constantly sad at heart; and when suddenly, by the side of this jade image (of the Buddha of Abhayagiri vihāra of Anurādhapura), he saw a merchant make offering of a white silk fan from China, his feelings overcame him and his eyes filled with tears." Fa-hien describes the vihāras, the Tooth festival, and Mihintale, and gives an attractive account of Siṃhalese Buddhism as a whole.

From Ceylon Fa-hien sailed in another big merchant vessel carrying two hundred souls or more; there was a smaller vessel also in tow. After sailing for two days the ship encountered a violent storm which lasted for thirteen days; Fa-hien spent his time in prayer fixing his thoughts upon Kuan Yin, the Hearer of Prayers, and put his life into the hands of the Catholic Church in China. He was also afraid that the merchants might throw his books and images overboard. But nothing happened; a leak in the vessel was discovered near an island and stopped, and Java was reached after another storm-tossed voyage of over ninety days. Fa-hien stayed in Java for five months or so; there he found Brahmanism flourishing 'while the Faith of the Buddha was in a very unsatisfactory condition'. Another big merchant vessel and an equally troublesome and pro-

tracted voyage brought him to the prefecture of Ch'ing-chou in China where he spent a winter and a summer before going south to the capital, Nanking, where he handed over to the ecclesiastics the sūtras and the Disciplines he had collected.

The conclusion of his account is very touching; he says: "Fa-hien spent six years in travelling from Ch'ang-an to central India; he stayed there for six years, and it took him three more to reach Ch'ing-chou. The countries he passed through amounted to rather fewer than thirty. From the sandy desert westwards all the way to India the dignified deportment of the priesthood and the good influence of the Faith were beyond all expression in detail. As, however, the ecclesiastics at home had had no means of hearing about these things, Fa-hien had given no thought to his own unimportant life, but came home across the seas, encountering still more difficulties and dangers. Happily, he was accorded protection by the divine majesty of the Precious Trinity, and was thus preserved in the hour of danger. Therefore, he wrote down on bamboo tablets and silk an account of what he had been through, desiring that the gentle reader should share this information."

Yuan Chwang

Born at Lo-yang in 602, Yuan Chwang amazed his father even at the age of eight by his observance of the Confucian rites, and it looked as if, like many of his ancestors, he would be a famous literary man of the traditional type. But the example of his elder brother who had just become a Buddhist monk influenced him, and he also took his vows in the monastery of Lo-yang when he was just thirteen. He began the study of Indian philosophy and soon mastered its intricacies. About 617 A.D., the end of Sui rule plunged the country into disorder from which it did not recover till Emperor T'ang T'ai-tsung established his firm rule after a series of brilliant campaigns begun in 618 A.D., the year in which Yuan Chwang sought refuge from anarchy in the mountains of Spu-ch'uan. In spite of the trouble, however,

he soon mastered the Law of Buddhism and held many popular discourses. He thus rapidly qualified for the first place in philosophical debates wherever Sanskrit learning prevailed—from the Deccan to Japan, from Turfan to Sumatra. The capital of the new dynasty, Ch'ang-an (now Si-am-fu), one of the chief centres of Buddhism in the Far East, became the centre of his activity from 662 A.D. But soon he was struck by the numerous differences among the schools and uncertainties in doctrine, and he made a vow to travel to the countries of the West and learn the truth from the wise men there on the points which were troubling his mind.

But when he applied for permission to leave China, the Emperor refused it. However, putting his trust in the invisible protection of the saints of Buddhism, the intrepid monk persisted in his plan. He was twenty-six when he set forth on his journey, and handsome and tall, like many Chinese of the North. People discouraged him on sundry occasions, but were impressed by his calm courage and helped him to the best of their ability. He travelled secretly, hiding by day and travelling by night. Mirages and apparitions thwarted him often; near one frontier fortress he was shot at and narrowly escaped death from an arrow. In spite of everything, he crossed the desert all alone with nothing to guide him except his own shadow and reached Ha-mi, where he received an invitation from the king of Turfan (then known as Kao-ch'ang), a pious Buddhist.

Turfan in the central part of the Gobi, to all intents and purposes dead to-day, then throbbed with the lively economic, political and cultural life of a Buddhist population speaking a dialect of Tocharian. Its ruler, Ch'u-Wen-tai (620—40 A.D.), was of Chinese extraction; he was a vassal of the Turkish Khan and had relations with T'ai-tsung. His invitation to Yuan Chwang was a command and the pilgrim was almost carried off by force to Turfan. A pious Buddhist, but somewhat rough and ready, Ch'u-Wen-tai, although most hospitable and respectful to Yuan Chwang, had planned to

detain him personally in his Court as its ecclesiastical head. "I insist on keeping you", he said, "in order to offer you my homage, and it would be easier to shift the mountain of Pamir than to shake my determination." "It is for the sublime Law that I have come," replied Yuan Chwang heroically, "the king will only be able to keep my bones; he has no power over my spirit nor my will." He followed this up by refusing to touch food for three days; the king became alarmed and yielded. The Master of the Law agreed to stay a month longer to preach at the Court, and at the end of the month the king let him go well provided with introductions to all the kings on his route, including the Turkish Khan whose writ ran to the very gates of India. Yuan Chwang was no longer an unknown refugee fleeing in secret; but an accredited pilgrim with an official standing. He was sumptuously provided for for the rest of the journey to India.

From Turfan he proceeded to Kara-shahr, also a Tocharish-speaking city, which contained some ten monasteries and two thousand monks of the Hīnayāna sect. The people here were friendly to Yuan Chwang, but not to his Turfan escort; so he spent only one night there and moved on to Kucha (Skt. Kuchi), perhaps the most important town in Central Asia at the time and an Indian outpost, but subject to Iranian influences also. Its material prosperity and the brilliance of its civilization impressed Yuan Chwang, and archaeological explorations in the twentieth century have enabled scholars to reconstruct many a probable scene in which the Master of the Law may have taken part. But Kucha was only an oasis in the Gobi, surrounded and coveted by the Turko-Mongols, and its ruling classes were forced to remain warriors. The throne of Kucha was still occupied by a Tocharian ruler, Suvarṇa-deva, the son and successor of Suvarṇa-puṣpa. In his kingdom there were 5,000 monks to whom he gave active protection. He maintained diplomatic relations with the T'ang emperor. At Kucha Yuan Chwang engaged in religious disputations with Hīnayāna monks who did not take kindly to the Yoga-śāstra which

Yuan Chwang preferred. But the difference did not take an unfriendly turn, and amiable relations were maintained with the old sage Mokṣagupta of Kucha during two more months that the Master of the Law was forced to spend there on account of the weather. When he left, the king gave him servants, camels, horses, a whole caravan, and accompanied him to the outskirts of the city followed by the monks and lay devotees of the town.

Two days after he had left Kucha, Yuan Chwang encountered robber bands on the road; and then came the glaciers on the slopes of the T'ien-Shan. These he has described picturesquely, anticipating some of the great explorers of recent times. He worked his way to the region of Issiq-Kul (warm lake) where the great Khan of the Western Turks had encamped. This was early in 630 A.D. The Khan was not devoid of religious culture and had leanings towards Buddhism which his predecessors had been taught fifty years before by a monk from Gandhāra, Jinagupta by name. The Khan had established his sway as far as Gandhāra. He treated Yuan Chwang with great deference, invited him to dinner with the Chinese envoys and ambassadors from the king of Turfan and provided him with 'pure food'—rice cakes, cream, milk, crystallized sugar, honey and raisins. At the end of the dinner, the master expounded the principles of his faith, and the Khan joyously said that he accepted the teaching with the faith. After making an unsuccessful effort to dissuade the master from continuing his journey, he gave him his official protection for the journey to India which enabled him easily to cross the passes of the Pamirs and Bactria.

Samarquand, Marakanda of old, was already an ancient city in the seventh century. It was the capital of Sogdiana and Yuan Chwang's next important halt. It was the terminus of the caravan routes between India and China, and was rich in rare and precious merchandise. It wavered between Zoroastrianism and Buddhism and the master's visit did much to raise the status of Buddhism in this Turko-Iranian king-

dom; he held an assembly at which he ordained a number of monks and restored the old desecrated monasteries for worship. From Samarquand, the pilgrim marched South over difficult mountain routes till he reached the 'Gates of Iron', the southern frontier of the Western Turkish Empire, at the end of the defile through which even now passes the caravan track between Samarquand and the Oxus.

South of the Gates of Iron, Yuan Chwang crossed the Oxus and entered Bactria, then under the rule of Tardu Shad, a son of the great Khan of the Turks, and brother-in-law of the king of Turfan, who was also a pious Buddhist. Bactria probably received its Buddhism very early from the missions of Aśoka. At time of the master's arrival, there occurred the death of the Turfan princess. Tardu Shad took a new queen almost immediately, but she loved her stepson more than her husband; she poisoned the king and put her lover on the throne. The latter was friendly to Yuan Chwang and persuaded him to visit Balkh, the capital city, before going South. Balkh and Bactria still had many monasteries, in spite of the ruin wrought by the Huns in the fifth and sixth centuries, and though they were all Hīnayānist, the master was on friendly terms with them and he derived much good, he says, from his conversations with one of their doctors, Prajñākara. Then the pilgrim made the most difficult crossing of the Hindu Kush and reached Bamiyan, a station of primary importance on the road from Central Asia to India. Modern archæologists were struck by the accuracy of his description of the site. "On the north", he says, "it leans against the steep rock. This country has winter corn, but few flowers and fruits. It is suitable for cattle breeding and abounds in sheep and horses. The climate is very cold. Manners are rough. Clothing is of fur and coarse woollen materials, which are also products of the country." There were ten Buddhist monasteries with several thousand monks in them. Yuan Chwang mentions the celebrated grottos and the two colossal statues of the Buddha, about 170 and 115 feet high, but somehow not the

frescoes which have evoked great interest in our times. The gilt surface of one of the large Buddhas led him to think that it was a statue of bronze.

He left Bamiyan for Kapiśa by the difficult pass of Shibar, 9,000 feet high, where he was overtaken by a storm and lost his way which he regained with the aid of local hunters. Kapiśa (now the village of Begram) to the north of Kabul commanded the principal passes of the Hindu Kush, and consequently the great trade routes between India and Bactria; it abounded in every kind of merchandise. The king was a devout Buddhist of the Mahāyāna persuasion. To please Prajñākara, his travelling companion from Balkh, the master lived in a Hīnayāna monastery, but at the king's request, took part in an assembly of different sects, which lasted five days. After spending the summer of 630 A.D. there, he took the road to the east again and reached Jalalabad, ancient Nagarahāra, through Lampaka. Here he was on Indian soil proper and he duly noted the contrast between the mountain country he had left behind with its sturdy people, and the hot plains of thinner, easy-going men. He says: "At Lampaka the ground is suitable for the cultivation of rice, and produces a large quantity of sugar-cane . . . The climate is fairly mild. There is some frost but never snow . . . The inhabitants live in ease and happiness, and love song. They are, moreover, effeminate, pusillanimous and given to fraud . . . They are short in stature and their movements are brisk and impetuous. The majority are clothed in white cotton, and like to adorn their costume with brilliantly coloured ornaments." This land of Greco-Buddhism, rich in its artistic tradition, had suffered terribly at the hands of the Huns and now had only ruined monasteries and works of art. The Arab invasion, twenty years later, dealt the final death-blow. From here the master made a hazardous diversion on a road infested with brigands to visit a cave in which the Buddha after quelling the Nāga Gopāla had left his shadow. He gives a thrilling account of his encounter with robbers, and of the miracle vouchsafed to him in the cave, a remarkable instance

of courage, persistence and faith.

From Lampaka the pilgrim entered Gandhāra by the Khyber Pass. This was a second holy land of Buddhism where art had flourished for nearly six centuries without a break under strong Greco-Roman influence. Peshawar, the capital of Kaniṣka, had given birth to Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, the two chief authors of mystical idealism so dear to Yuan Chwang. But when he came to Peshawar, it had suffered from the Huns like other places. He notes sadly: "The royal race is wiped out and the country has been annexed to the kingdom of Kapiśa. Towns and villages are almost empty and abandoned, and only a few inhabitants are seen in the country. One corner of the royal town (Peshawar) contains about a thousand families . . . There are a million Buddhist monasteries which are in ruins and deserted. They are overgrown with weeds and they make a mournful solitude. The majority of the stūpas are also in ruins." Still the pilgrim made it a point to visit most of the hallowed spots, till he left the main road to India for a northerly excursion into the mountain country of Udyāna or Uḍḍiyāna which had suffered even more than Gandhāra from Hun inroads; once it had 1,400 vihāras and 18,000 monks; the country had not yet ceased to be Buddhist and the people were divided between the two vehicles, though Mahāyāna Buddhism was tending towards Tantrism. Leaving Uḍḍiyāna and Gandhāra, the master crossed the Indus at Udabhaṇḍa or Udakakhaṇḍa (north of Attock) and visited Takṣaśilā where too there were many monasteries ruined by the Huns. From there he went for a while to Kashmir where Buddhism still prevailed. There were still a hundred monasteries with 5,000 monks, and the country cherished memories of Aśoka and Kaniṣka. The king of Kashmir received the pilgrim with great honour in his capital, Pravarapura (Srinagar). Yuan Chwang found there a venerable Mahāyānist doctor aged seventy, from whom he was able to receive in all its purity the tradition of the idealist school of Buddhist philosophy. He spent two years in

Kashmir, from May 631 to April 633 A.D., studying philosophy and having Buddhist sūtras and śāstras copied to take home with him to China.

Coming down from Kashmir, one of his first halting places was Sākala (Sialkot), the seat of the Greek king Menander of old, and of the Hun tyrant Mahirakula (or Mihirakula) of more recent times, but also the shelter, two centuries before the master's visit, of the illustrious philosopher, Vasubandhu. On his way thence to Cīnabhukti on the left bank of the Beas, the master narrowly escaped a band of brigands and then met an old brāhmaṇa who was learned in Buddhist doctrine (Mādhyamika) with whom he spent a month in a village. He lived over a year in Cīnabhukti and went in 634 A.D. to Jālandhara during the rains. He next went to Mathura, famous in Hindu tradition and Buddhist art, and it may be presumed that he saw and admired the celebrated standing Buddha, a masterpiece of Gupta art, now in the National Museum, New Delhi. From Mathura he ascended the Yamuna up to Sthāneśvara in Kurukṣetra; modern scholars are agreed that his remarks about the latter show that he recalled the Mahābhārata war and the essence of the Bhagavadgītā. Travelling East, he reached the upper Ganges and observed the growing triumph of Hinduism and the relative decline of his own creed. He visited Kapitha (old Saṅkāśya) and like Fa-hien witnessed the miracles associated with the place. Though he spent some months in Kanyākubja, which Harṣa had made the political capital of the North, he did not meet the king who was away in the East and afterwards became his great friend and patron. His account of Harṣa is marked by deep admiration: "His rule", he says, "was just and humane. He forgot to eat and drink in the accomplishment of good works." On the whole, however, we think that Yuan Chwang exaggerates the monarch's Buddhist leanings just as his Court poet Bāṇa lays undue stress on the Śaivism of the king, who seems really, like many other Indian rulers, to have held the scales even between the different creeds which

existed in his kingdom. After visiting Ayodhyā and on his way to Prayag along the Ganges, the master fell into the hands of water thugs, devotees of Durgā, who wanted to sacrifice him to their goddess; courage, prayer, and a miraculous and timely storm saved the pilgrim's journey from an untimely end. At Prayag he noted again with regret that Buddhists were in the minority, and passed on to Kauśāmbī where he was shown mementos of the Buddha's visit, of Vasubandhu's writing and of Asaṅga's life, though as everywhere else Brahmanism was in the ascendant.

Here the master made up his mind to visit the birthplace of the Buddha without further delay and turned due North. First he came to Śrāvasti, the hamlet of Saheṭ-Maheṭ, on the right bank of the Rāptī, practically deserted at the time but full of sacred spots and memories; then Kapilavastu, the Buddha's native town with the garden of Lumbinī where he was born; then Rāmagrāma and lastly Kuśinagara (Kasia, on the right bank of the middle Gandak) where he attained nirvāṇa. All these places have been satisfactorily identified by modern archaeology, and this imparts a vivid significance to the pilgrim's narrative of what he saw and heard. From here, Yuan Chwang went along a forest route straight to Banaras, a place sacred alike to Hindus and Buddhists.

Yuan Chwang's account of Banaras is curiously modern. "The greater part worship Śiva. Some cut off their hair, others pile it on the top of their heads. Some there are (the Jainās)who are naked, others rub their bodies with ash, or practise cruel mortifications in order to escape saṃsāra . . ." He mentions a colossal statue of Śiva 'full of grandeur and majesty'. He must also have seen at Sarnath the seated Buddha turning the Wheel of Law, 'the purest incarnation of the Gupta ideal' in art. The city was full of tender and marvellous legends. From Banaras the pilgrim went further north to Vaisali (Besarh), the city of the famous courtesan Āmrapālī who offered to the Saṅgha the park of mango trees; at Vaisali also the second Buddhist

Council had been held a hundred years after the Buddha's passing.

Magadha in southern Bihar was the true sacred land of Buddhism, the most important region for the pilgrim. Its capital, Pāṭaliputra, the centre of two great empires in the past, was in decay, and the pilgrim saw the ruins of many palaces and vihāras of which scarcely two or three still stood. He describes with deep emotion his journey from Pāṭaliputra to Bodh Gaya, the place where the Buddha attained knowledge and where almost every square foot of ground had witnessed sacred scenes. Yuan Chwang was not only a keen philosopher learned in the doctrine, but a man of tender piety which suffuses the narrative of his visits to these sacred spots. To the north-east of Bodh Gaya lay Nalanda, the great international university of the time. Yuan Chwang's detailed description of this enormous foundation, richly endowed by the munificence of generations of kings and nobles, is well borne out by modern excavations. There were ten huge vihāras with spaces between divided into eight courtyards, all within a brick wall enclosure. There were ten thousand monks, all followers of the Mahāyāna. They eagerly studied, besides Buddhist works, the Vedas, medicine, arithmetic, the occult sciences and other popular subjects. The head of the establishment was the old and venerable Śīlabhadra who came in the direct line of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu's pupils and summed up in himself the final result of seven centuries of Indian thought. Some time earlier he had had a dream which warned him of the coming of the Chinese Master of the Law; so he received him with honour, and the pilgrim spent fifteen months there learning the Yogācāra doctrine which he afterwards cast in the form of a book known as the Siddhi; he also studied Brāhmaṇa philosophy and perfected his knowledge of Saṅskrit. He interrupted his studies for a while only to visit Rājagṛha of ancient fame where the first Buddhist Council had met soon after the death of the Blessed One. After leaving Nalanda, Yuan Chwang spent the year

638 A.D. in Bengal and Campā, and finally reached Tāmralipti, intending to embark for Ceylon to study the Hīnayāna there.

Tāmralipti was a great emporium in those days and the pilgrim must have met many sailors and traders from the eastern lands; he gives a fairly accurate and valuable, though brief, account of the Hindu kingdoms of contemporary Indo-China. Some monks from the South told Yuan Chwang that Ceylon was within easy reach of South India, and there was no need to risk a long sea voyage. He accepted the advice and worked his way south to Kāñcīpuram by way of Orissa, Mahākośala, the land of Nāgārjuna and Ārya Deva, as also Kipling's Mowgli, Andhra and the Telugu-Goḍa countries. His observations on the people and politics are very valuable. He probably spent the rainy season of 639 A.D. at Amarāvatī and reached Kāñcī in 640 A.D. There he learned that Ceylon was in turmoil; a civil war was raging and he had to give up his idea of a visit to the island. He worked his way back to the North by western Deccan, no doubt meeting Pulakeśin II, the great Badami Cālukya ruler at Nasik (641 A.D.), and visiting Bharukaccha (Bharoch) and Valabhī. Here he learnt much about Iran on the eve of the onslaught of Islam and his picture of the Sassanid empire just before its fall is of great value to history.

After visiting Sindh and Multan in the West, Yuan Chwang turned towards the East for a second stay at Nalanda and its neighbourhood where great Mahāyāna scholars like Jayasena lived; when his visits to the holy places were over, the master gave his time up fully to his studies; he was interested in many subjects and had vast, encyclopaedic learning. He often took part in philosophical debates and delighted in exposing the flaws in other creeds. But his thoughts were ever directed to his return to China to give her the benefit of his new learning, and he turned down the request of the monks of Nalanda that he should not leave them. Indian kings heard of the Chinese

master's great ability, and Bhāskaravarman, the king of Assam (Kamrup), invited him to his Court. So he went there, and his notes on Assam are remarkably accurate. Very soon Harṣa Vardhana sent word to Assam, whose king was his friend and vassal, inviting Yuan Chwang to his own camp on the Ganges; they went and were warmly received by Harṣa who had been impatient at the delay in their arrival. In 643 A.D. Yuan Chwang attended the two celebrated assemblies convened by Harṣa at Kanauj and Prayag, of which we have detailed descriptions from Yuan Chwang and his biographers, though these are obviously one-sided. Harṣa, according to these accounts, had difficulty in protecting the Mahāyānist doctor from the debating zeal of the followers of other creeds, particularly the brāhmaṇas; drastic rules calculated to stifle free speech caused resentment and even the lives of the king and the pilgrim were endangered. Such is the account that we have no means of verifying. The assembly at Prayag was the usual quinquennial meeting at which the king gave away his accumulated treasure. This was the last function for which the Master of the Law put off his return to China. Harṣa also failed to dissuade him from returning to his native land, and very unwillingly bade him farewell. After spending two months of the rainy season in the region to the north of Kanauj, Yuan Chwang crossed the Panjab by way of Jālandhar and Takṣaśilā, taking in the opposite direction the route he had taken ten years before. Crossing the Indus, early in 644 A.D., he was met at Udabhaṇḍa (Und) by the kings of Kapiśa, and Kashmir, the former helping him to get from Uḍḍiyāna fresh copies of some of the books which had been lost in crossing the Indus. He lodged in a monastery in Nagarahāra for some time.

Then he crossed the Hindu Kush with great difficulty in July 644 A.D., despite the aid of the king of Kapiśa, and farther on a Turkish prince gave him an escort for the crossing of the Pamirs. His narrative here contains many marvellous tales and dramatic adventures. He duly noted the

Indian origin of the civilization of the Central Asian states; he passed through Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan where he spent seven to eight months from September 644 A.D.; during this period he replaced the manuscripts lost in transit and awaited the permission of the imperial government to return to the country which he had left ten years earlier without a proper permit. His notes on the places he visited show clearly the geographical changes that had occurred since the days of Fa-hien. After resting some time at Tun-huang, he approached Ch'ang-an in the Spring of 645 A.D. and was received with great honour by the officials and monks of the capital. He presented his respects to the Emperor T'ai-tsung at Lo-Yang some days later. Not only was his secret exit from China forgiven, but he soon became the hero of the hour and part of the glory of the T'angs, the Emperor himself congratulating him on having risked his life for the salvation and happiness of all men. He refused to accept the post of Minister offered him by the Emperor, and spent the rest of his life in a monastery, specially built in the capital to lodge him and his band of translators who rendered into Chinese the six hundred Sanskrit works brought from India. The Emperor T'ai-tsung died in July 649 A.D.; his successor was quite friendly, but Yuan Chwang's visits to the palace became less frequent and he devoted himself more and more to translation and active preaching. He knew his end was approaching, and died in peace and content in 664 A.D. with the consciousness of having led a good and purposeful life.

I-tsing

I-tsing was about ten years of age when Yuan Chwang returned to China, but he had prepared himself for the life of a Buddhist monk. He was admitted to the Order when he was fourteen. Though he formed the idea of travelling to India in 652 A.D., he did not carry it out till his thirty-seventh year (671 A.D.). He was away for 25 years (671—695 A.D.) and travelled through more than thirty countries.

After his return to China in 695 A.D., he translated 56 works out of about 400 he had brought back with him, between the years 700 and 712 A.D. He died in 713 A.D. in his seventy-ninth year.

He took the sea route to India both ways. His itineraries lack the variety and scientific interest of those of Yuang Chwang, but they are full of human interest. On his outward voyage (671 A.D.) he spent eight months in Sumatra, six at Śrī-vijaya, a rising maritime state (now Palembang), and two in Malaya in the neighbourhood. He landed at Tāmralipti in 673 A.D., and thence went to Magadha, the holy land *par excellence* and worshipped at Bodh Gaya and other sacred spots. He spent ten years at Nalanda, hearing the teaching of the Doctors of the Law and collecting holy books. He had many companions with him of whom he was to write an account later, and from them he took leave, never to see them again, in 685 A.D. when he left India, again by way of Tāmralipti. He spent four years in Śri-vijaya with its Sanskrit background in order to translate the sacred works; in 689 A.D. he went to China to fetch collaborators for his work and after another five years at Śrī-vijaya he finally returned to China in 695 A.D. Like Yuan Chwang before him he found the Court interested in his voyages and was given an official reception.

One of I-tsing's works, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago,* has been translated into English by the Japanese scholar, J. Takakusu. More interesting in some ways are his *Memoirs on the Eminent Monks who went in Search of the Law in the Western Countries*; of this work a French version by Chavannes is available. It gives us a fair idea of the earnestness and devotion of the pilgrims whose numbers were larger than we are apt to imagine and of the spirit with which they braved the dangers of their enterprise. It is, in fact, a melancholy succession of tales, full of pathetic incidents both on land and sea. I-tsing remarks wistfully: "However triumphal, the path was strewn

with difficulties; the Holy Places were far away and vast. Of dozens who brought forth leaves and flowers, and of several who made an attempt, there was scarcely one who bore any fruit or produced any real results, and few who completed their task. The reason for this was the immensity of the stony deserts of the Land of the Elephant (India), the great rivers and the brilliance of the sun which pours forth its burning heat, or else the towering waves heaved up by the giant fish, the abysses, and the waters that rise and swell as high as the heavens. When marching solitary, beyond the Iron Gates between Samarquand and Bactria, one wandered amongst the ten thousand mountains, and fell into the bottom of precipices; when sailing alone beyond the Columns of Copper (South of Tongking), one crossed the thousand deltas and lost one's life . . . That is how it is that those who set out were over fifty in number, while those who survived were only a handful of men." Several Korean monks had gone to India, the majority across Central Asia, some by the sea route; of them I-tsing says: "They died in India, and never saw their country again." Indeed the Central Asian route was becoming more and more difficult after the weakening of the T'ang empire and the revolt of Tibet, not to speak of the Islamic Arabs who soon appeared on the scene.

On the maritime route the Chinese pilgrims saw India coming out to meet them. The impress of Indian civilization on Indo-China and Indonesia could not escape their notice, and I-tsing recommends that one should stay in Srivijaya and perfect his knowledge of Sanskrit before going on to India. During this period there was a perpetual exchange of ideas, books and art products between India and Ceylon and Java, Cambodia, Campā and the ports of the Canton region of China.

Thus, in this bright period of Asian history, the Chinese pilgrims of the great T'ang dynasty linked the Far East to India more closely by their travels and their translations of the Sacred Books.

CHAPTER XI

A Brief Survey of Buddhist Art

A. In India

The followers of the Buddha came largely from the commercial classes and their wealth made it possible for the gigantic stūpas and caityas to be built at Sanchi and Bhārhut in central India, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in South India and Karle and Bhaja in western India. The creation of the Orders of Buddhist monks and nuns (bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs) is evidence of the Buddha's altruism (karuṇā). The monks and the nuns, like their Master, adopted an itinerant life and moved from place to place, from caves to rock-cut dwellings. As the Buddhist church grew, the merchants and royal votaries, foremost among whom was Emperor Aśoka, endowed the Buddhist Saṅgha and built caityas, stūpas and monasteries or vihāras. With corporate life came the monastery, and into the monastery were introduced temples and chapels. Thus on the cool and peaceful hills, where Buddhist monks and nuns gathered, arose marvellous Buddhist cave temples as at Karle, Kanheri and Bhaja in Bombay State and Ajanta in the Deccan. Painting and sculpture which evoke the artist's admiration were enlisted to display the glory of the Buddha, and the life of the Master, his past births (the Jātakas) and other edifying legends became their subject matter.

In the three centuries before and after the birth of Christ, India witnessed a phenomenal growth of Buddhist art and culture. A large number of stūpas and caityas built during this period were richly carved with scenes from the life of the Buddha and his previous births. The inspiration of

Buddhist art came from religion and the sculptural wealth of Buddhist edifices goes to prove that religion did not necessarily mean ritual or doctrine, but that latent spiritual quality which finds 'tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything'. In the North-West, owing to the impact of Greece and Rome, a hybrid art developed and a complete Buddhist imagery called Gandhāra was elaborated. Gradually the orthodox Buddhist doctrine underwent a change. Popular beliefs, magic and sorcery, collectively known as tantra, began to spread among the people and through it Buddhism and Hinduism were brought closer. The former was about to be absorbed into Hinduism when the Muslim invaders descended on the scene, swept Buddhism from the Indian soil, destroyed the vihāras, where the bhikṣus and bhiksuṇīs lived, scattered them and broke their hierarchy.

The Stūpa in Buddhist Art

The highest objects of worship for the Buddhist are the Triratna or the three jewels: (1) the Buddha, (2) the Dharma, and (3) the Saṅgha. There are also other objects of worship which, when compared with the Triratna, can only be described as material or formal, but which appealed more forcibly to the layman than all the precepts, parables and sayings of the Buddha put together. These are the relics of holy persons like the Buddha, the Pratyeka-buddhas, the Arhats, and the Cakravartins, over which great monuments were erected by a 'grateful posterity'. In the majority of cases, these relics are what are called dhātus which can be conveniently grouped into three classes, namely, śārīrika or corporeal relics, uddeśika or memorials and pāribhogika or 'objects having been of use to the Buddha, sacred spots, holy trees, and the like'.

According to tradition, the oldest corporeal relics are the hairs of the Buddha which were given to the merchants Tapusa and Bhallika, and later deposited by them in a shrine built in their native city in Orissa.

The chief corporeal relics are 'those which are properly

called śarīras, *i.e.*, the remains of a corpse after cremation'. The Buddha died in the land of the Mallas who did honour to his bones with dancing, music, garlands and perfumes. Ajātaśatru from Rājagṛha, the Licchavis of Vaisali, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Mallas of Pāvā, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma and a brāhmaṇa from Veṭhadīpa—all claimed their share in the division of the relics.

It appears that after the division had been made, a messenger of the Mauryas of Pippalivana came for a portion of the relics. As there was nothing left, he took pieces of coal which the Mauryas began to revere and placed in a stūpa. Thus, originally there were eight stūpas: in Rājagṛha, Vaisali, Kapilavastu, Allakappa, Rāmagrāma, Veṭhadīpa, Pāvā and Kuśinagara, besides those erected by Brāhmaṇa Droṇa and the Mauryas of Pippalivana.

In addition to these relics, there are others, the tooth relics, one of which is worshipped in heaven, another in Gandhāra, and one each in Kaliṅga and the land of the Nāgas respectively. The Daḷadāvaṃsa (composed about 310 A.D.) speaks of the history of the eye-tooth (daṃṣṭrā) relic which was taken to Dantapura or Kaliṅga-nagarī, the capital of Kaliṅga.

The pāribhoga-dhātus which served the Buddha and the saints are such objects as garments, bowls, sticks, and trees. These were worshipped equally with the bone relics, and like the latter, possessed miraculous powers. It is difficult to determine the period in which these holy remains began to be venerated, but there is no doubt that the practice of worshipping relics was already fully established, both in the North and in the South, long before the beginning of mediaeval times. The Chinese pilgrims speak of having seen the Buddha's staff, kāṣāya and saṅghāṭi, in the neighbourhood of Nagara. Referring to his visit to Peshawar, Fa-hien speaks of the alms bowl of the Buddha. The Siṃhalese chronicle, Dīpavaṃsa, speaks of many pāribhoga relics, such as 'the drinking vessel of Buddha Kakusandha, the girdle

of Koṇāgamana, the bathing cloth of Kassapa, and that of Gautama', and records that the latter's girdle was preserved in the Kāyabandhana-Cetiya.

Similarly, Yuan Chwang speaks of the head-dresses of Prince Siddhārtha, associating them with the vihāra at Koṅkaṇapura in South India. We are also indebted to the Chinese pilgrim for his reference, in his account, to certain other relics which were also worshipped. Thus, the Buddha is said to have left his shadow in certain places near Kauśāmbī, Gaya and Nagara, to which the believers go even today to pay homage. The Chinese pilgrim says that he was lucky enough to see the shadow of the Lord at Gaya. We also hear of places where the Buddha is said to have left his foot-prints for the faithful to worship. Sanctuaries of different kinds have risen in all these places and the relics within them are worshipped to this day.

The most general name for a sanctuary is caitya, 'a term not only applying to buildings, but to sacred trees, memorial stones, holy spots, images and religious inscriptions. Hence, all edifices having the character of a sacred monument are caityas but not all caityas are edifices'. The earliest surviving architectural relic is the caitya of the Buddhist period, which is not specially Buddhistic but was adopted by the Buddhists from Vedic architectural models. We learn that memorial mounds were erected over the relics of worthy people even in the pre-Buddhist age. The word caitya is derived from the word citā, or funeral pile, and denotes anything connected with a funeral pile, *e.g.*, the tumulus raised over the bones of a dead saint. Although generally speaking caitya means a relic shrine or a temple or any place of worship, technically it means a mound. The term stūpa is analogous to caitya, as it also means a mound, or something which is raised. Later, the term caitya came to mean a shrine, an altar or a temple. For our purposes it is necessary for us to understand caitya as meaning a mound containing a relic, *e.g.*, ashes, bones, hair or a tooth of the Buddha. Caitya is a religious term, while stūpa is an architectural term

for a relic mound.

The stūpa is often identified with the dagoba, but incorrectly so, since a dagoba is only part of the stūpa. The stūpa is the whole monument, while the dagoba is only the area where the relic is deposited. As most of the stūpas are erected over relics, they may also be called dagobas. Not all stūpas, however, contain relics, since many were built on spots where some memorable event connected either with the life of the Buddha or his Jātakas had taken place. Two stūpas are thus said to have been erected near Banaras where the Buddha preached his first sermon and where 500 Pratyekabuddhas entered nirvāṇa.

The earliest stūpas, such as those found in the Bhārhut and the Sanchi sculptures, show a circular or square base, with or without a railing. Over this base rests a dome which is surmounted by a graduated inverted pyramid. This is connected with the dome by means of a short neck (gala). The whole is surmounted by a chattra or chattras, one above the other, with flags and garlands suspended from them.

The oldest stūpa in brick is the remnant at Piprāwhā, on the Nepal frontier, which probably dates from about 450 B.C. The remains at Piprāwhā show that brick was used for building long before the birth of rock architecture.

The most typical form of the stūpa, which is known to be the earliest Buddhist building, is furnished by the stūpas at Sanchi. It is said of the Great Stūpa that it was originally built in brick by Aśoka and hence dates from the third century B.C. Its stone casings, railings and gateways were added a century later. It is in the shape of a hemispherical dome (aṇḍa) truncated at the top and placed over a lofty terrace. This terrace must have been a procession path for pradakṣiṇā. A railing or balustrade of stone (prākāra), 'which was originally of wood, and was copied later in stone', encloses the dome and the terrace. The dome is surmounted by a pavilion (harmikā) from which rises the shaft (daṇḍa) of the umbrella (chattra), the 'Indian emblem of sovereignty, signifying the reign of Dharma, the religious faith propagated by Aśoka, the

great Buddhist Dharmarāja'. The finial is called the tee which is derived from the Burmese word *hti*.

The stūpa underwent an interesting development in its chattra which, from being one originally, increased in number till it became a cluster of umbrellas, giving an elongated appearance to the later stūpas such as those in China and Nepal, and slowly lengthening out 'in the shape of the Indo-Aryan spire, the stūpa itself inclining to the form of a tower' These umbrellas which may be two, three, five, seven, nine or thirteen, and the gradations of the pavilion which is placed over the dome, all suggest divisions of the universe. Thus we may safely surmise that a symbolical significance is attached to each part of the stūpa, the stūpa itself representing Mount Meru.

The elongation that the dome gradually underwent can be seen in the caitya of Svayambhūnātha of Nepal and the Thūpārāma dagoba of Anurādhapura in Ceylon (circa 246 B.C.). The earlier evolutions are best illustrated in the forms achieved in the tope at Manikyala (Rawalpindi district), ascribed to about 30 B.C. and the more elaborate example at Ahin Posh in the Jelalabad valley. The important features of the last named stūpa are the storeyed terrace and the staircase at the four quarters, a scheme which might have been carried to Java, as illustrated in the plan of the Borobudur. In Burma, the early Indian model went through so many modifications that it is difficult to recognize its original prototype in them In the Mingalazedi Pagoda in Pagan, dated 1274 A.D., the platform is in storeyed terraces, and the dome shrinks into a cone, almost merging into the finial which terminates in a spire, the umbrella having already disappeared. The intermediate stage, however, is well illustrated in the carved representations of the stūpa met with on the marble slabs at Amarāvatī in South India.

The railings which consist of pillars (stambhas), pierced with cross bars (sūcī) and surmounted by copings (uṣṇīṣa) are also characteristic features of Buddhist architecture. They are a convincing proof that wooden architecture preceded

Svayambhunatha Nepal

Mingalazedi Pagoda. Pagan, Burma, 13th century A.D. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Burma)

stone in the history of Buddhist architecture. From mere imitations in stone of plain wooden balustrades, they developed into the later examples, such as the railing at Bodh Gaya and the elaborately carved marble railings at Amarāvatī (2nd century A.D.). The reader who wishes to know the history of the various stūpas to be found in different parts of India, Burma and Ceylon, will find the travel accounts of the Chinese pilgrims interesting.

The stūpa is so constructed that its very shape suggests its affinity to the grave-mound; the dome answers to the tumulus, the railing to the fencing or circle of stones, and the top to the stake or column on the grave. While, however, there are some dagobas in Ceylon, of which the domes are bell shaped, the generally approved form of the stūpa is 'that of a water bubble surmounted by three umbrellas, one of the gods, the second of men, the third of final Deliverance or Nothingness'. A study of a different type of stūpa found at Borobudur in Java and at Mingyun in Burma will demonstrate how, in the course of its development, the stūpa acquired the characteristics of a prāsāda or tower with a number of stair-like divisions. An example is the Mahal Prāsāda at Polonnaruva in Ceylon.

Sculpture and Bronze

Sculptures and bronzes in India have not only been regarded as works of art but also as objects of religious veneration. They have now assumed archæological and iconographic importance, although their appeal is also largely aesthetic.

Between the proto-historic art of the Indus Valley and the historical Mauryan period (4th—3rd century B.C.) there exists a big gap which has still to be filled by the actual remains of material culture. In the 3rd century B.C., however, we meet with Indian stone sculpture springing into magnificent forms. The lion capital of Sarnath and the stone bull of Rāmapūrvā are masterpieces of Mauryan sculpture both for their vigour and their expression. Besides the refined

courtly art exemplified by these lion or bull capitals, there also flourished an archaic religious art based on a widespread cult of tutelary deities, such as the yakṣas and the yakṣīs. The majesty of such figures as the Parkham Yakṣa, Patna Yakṣa and the Yakṣī figure from Didarganj (3rd century B.C.) owes more to their size, volume and form, than to their spiritual expression. However, no bronze images have yet been found which are representative of either the courtly art or the archaic religious art of Mauryan times.

Indian art entered a phase of intense activity in the 2nd century B.C., when under the direct influence of Buddhism a synthesis suitable to the Indian genius was effected between the higher and the lower forms of beliefs. This produced very rich sculpture, which is preserved on the railings and gateways of the stūpas of Sanchi (Bhopal) and Bhārhut (central India), Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Guntur district, South India). Some bronze images of the Buddha, dating not earlier than the 2nd century A.D., have also been found in Amarāvatī and its neighbourhood. From the 2nd century A.D. onwards the image of the Buddha was sufficiently popular for artists to carve or cast it as a matter of course, with the result that we have today an extensive sculpture sequence of the Buddha image.

Though the art of metal casting is of great antiquity, as shown by the first example of the dancing girl from Mohenjodaro of the third millennium B.C., we do not come across any metal images until the 1st century A.D., when small figures appear in Takṣaśilā in the North and Amarāvatī in the South.

A vital and prolific school of Indian sculpture sprang up at Mathura in the 1st century A.D., remarkable both for its statuary which is illustrative of sectarian belief and for its beautiful figure sculpture, of which the best examples are feminine forms carved on the railing pillars with birds, flora, fauna and flowing streams.

The school of Mathura found its fulfilment in the Gupta age (4th—5th century A.D.) which ushered in the golden age

The Nativity and Seven Steps. Limestone, Nagarjunakonda, 3rd century A.D.
(Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India)

Adoration of the Buddha's Alms Bowl. Limestone. Amaravati, 2nd century A.D.
(Courtesy, Madras Government Museum, Madras)

of Indian art. The sensuous freedom and plasticity of the Mathura figures were now replaced by restraint, elegance of form and spiritual expression. The great Buddha figures of Mathura, Sarnath, Ajanta, and Bihar are immortal specimens which symbolize the ideals of a whole age. The faces are radiant with spiritual ecstasy and the smiling countenance with downcast eyes adequately conveys the divine, compassionate love (karuṇā) of the Buddha for all beings. It is to the Guptas that we owe the perfect visual image of the Buddha type of being, which has rightly been considered the greatest creation of Indian art.

Bronzes of the Gupta period rank with the best stone sculpture such as the life-size Buddha from Sultanganj in Bihar (5th century A.D.), which is now in the Birmingham Art Gallery, and the beautiful Brahmā image from the Mīrpur-khās stūpa in Sindh. Metal images became increasingly popular from about the 8th century A.D.

Elegance of form and richness of spiritual expression characterize the bronzes of the Pāla period (9th—12th century A.D.) from Nalanda and Kurkihār, both in Bihar. The development of the Pāla school, the eastern school of Tārānātha, is best seen at Nalanda, the importance of which as a centre of Buddhist learning continued undiminished, in spite of the political decadence of Magadha, until the monasteries were destroyed by the Muslims about 1197 A.D. Nalanda has been the richest source of the well-known, smooth images in black slate and has also yielded an extensive series of Buddhist bronzes. The importance of Nalanda as a centre of Buddhist culture and as a source of iconographic and stylistic influences throughout the East, is well illustrated by the close relations that existed between Nalanda and Sumatra and Java in the 9th century, as shown by the copper plate of Devapāla-deva in which references are made to the important monastery at Nalanda built by Bālaputra of Suvarṇa-dvīpa (circa 860 A.D.). Nepal and Burma, too, were closely connected with Nalanda. Eastern India, comprising Bihar and Bengal, which can be treated as one province from

the point of view of the development of art, under Pāla and Sena rule, and Mayurbhanj followed the classical traditions evolved in the Gupta period.

Another large series of remarkable metal images from Kurkihār in the district of Gaya in Bihar shows a close affinity to those at Nalanda and belong almost to the same period and school. Yet another large series of Buddhist metal images, perhaps of Nalanda origin, has been found at Chittagong in East Bengal, and appears to date from the 10th to the 13th century A.D. Some others, found in Kashmir, are evidently of the same type.

A great and prolific school of sculpture existed in eastern India during the Pāla period (9th—12th century A.D.). All finds of metal images that belong to this period, whether they are Buddhist, Brahmanical or Jain, and whether they are made at Kurkihār or Nalanda in Bihar, or at Rangpur, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Dacca, or the Sundarbans in Bengal, are examples of Pāla art. The modelling of the Pāla bronzes is good, although it is not their most remarkable feature as it is in those of the Gupta period. The lines and soft curves of the figures are pleasing, and their expression has an appeal which justifies the modern enthusiasm for the Pāla bronzes. The Buddhist images found at Jhewari in Chittagong (9th—13th century A.D.), on the other hand, are marked by ruggedness and constraint. These may be called provincial variations of the Pāla school, although they probably have affinities with the school that flourished in Burma and Assam in this period. Small metal images, particularly those of Buddhist divinities found at Nalanda and Kurkihār, have provided the inspiration for the Nepalese copper gilt images. Some of these Buddhist and Hindu metal images, however, must have been brought by Javanese pilgrims who came to visit the sacred shrines of eastern India.

Although they are rare, Buddhist bronzes are occasionally found in South India, mostly in the Tanjore district, and date from the 10th to the 15th century A.D. Since 1856, about 350 Buddhist bronzes of the Mahāyāna, some of which are

Padmapani, Gilt-Bronze, Kurkihar, c. 12th century A.D. (Photo by Publications Division)

The Buddha. Bronze, Dong Duong in Campa, 3rd century A.D.
(Courtesy, Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi)

inscribed, were recovered from the sites of the vihāras raised in Nāgapaṭṭinam by the Śailendras of Sumatra during the time of the Coḷa kings, Rājarāja I and Rājendra Coḷa I. Some of these bronzes belong to the early Coḷa period (871—1070 A.D.) and a large number of the rest to the later Coḷa period (1070—1250 A.D.).

The Amarāvatī, Nalanda and Nagapaṭṭinam Buddhist sculptures and bronzes bring us to a most interesting study, namely, to that of the culture of South-East Asia, and of the extent to which Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Sumatra, Java and Indo-China derived their arts from India.

It is known that Aśoka (250 B.C.) sent Buddhist missionaries to South-East Asia. Two of them, Soṇa and Uttara, went to the 'Land of Gold', which is the western part of Indonesia. In the second and third centuries A.D., Amarāvatī in Andhra-deśa was a great centre of Hīnayāna Buddhism. and the influence of the Amarāvatī school of art was felt in Ceylon, in lower and Central Siam (Thailand) and possibly in Sumatra. Burma and Siam are still Buddhist in faith, though they have witnessed repeated invasions through the centuries, involving them in much bloodshed and anarchy. The Indian colonies were bound to the motherland by the silken ties of art, culture and religion. In the 5th century A.D., the Golden Age in northern India under the famous Guptas and in South India under the glorious Pallavas left its mark on the colonies[1] and their culture.

The last trend of Indian art to influence colonial art is found in the 11th century products of the Pāla kingdom of Bihar and Bengal. Under the spell of Pāla art and faith, the early Burmese kings of Pagan became intimately connected with Bodh Gaya and Nalanda which led to the introduction of a new image of the Buddha of the Sthaviravāda school. This form of the Buddha image gradually found its way from Burma into North Siam where it became the forerunner of the Siamese school of art. An account of how the

1. The term colonies is used here in the sense of outgrowths of Indian culture.

Siamese national school was later influenced by a new form of the Buddha image from Ceylon and from South India covers eight different periods of Thailand's interesting history.

The spread of Indian scripts, languages, literatures and faiths, and especially Buddhism, to South-East Asia is a most fascinating story. The Buddhist images of South-East Asia illustrate artistic contacts between India and Greater India and help to show that Indian art in South-East Asia is a continuation and development of the Indian creative genius under colonial conditions. Indeed, the arts of Java, Sumatra, Cambodia, Siam and Burma, recover for us one of the lost pages in the history of Indian art.

Painting

There are innumerable references to painted decorations in the Jātakas and other Buddhist literature. The earliest surviving examples of Buddhist paintings dating from the 2nd century B.C., are found in some of the caitya halls at Ajanta in the Deccan. A principal wall painting of the period is in cave No. 9 which is devoted to the illustration of Ṣaḍdanta Jātaka. However, Buddhist painting seems to have attained its maturity only during the Gupta period (5th—6th century A.D.). The finest specimens of this period are to be found in the caves at Bāgh (central India) and Ajanta. The mural paintings in the Ajanta caves contain representations of scenes from the Buddha's life, from the conception to the attainment of nirvāṇa, as well as from the Jātaka stories, such as the Ṣaḍdanta, Viśvantara, Kṣāntivādin, and several others. These stories are represented in continuous narrative. The human and animal figures display vigour, adding grace and vitality to the style which reveals great delicacy and depth of feeling. A quiet dignity, poise and detachment are the hall-marks of classical Buddhist paintings in India.

A few Buddhist paintings, as already noted, are found on the walls of cave No. 4 at Bāgh. Though they are Buddhist in theme and allied to Ajanta in style, they are basically secu-

lar in character, and significantly reflect contemporary life.

The mediaeval period in eastern and western India was a period of intense activity in manuscript writing. As the authors of manuscripts wanted to embellish their books with illustrations, the use of miniature painting came into vogue. The miniature paintings of eastern India of the Pāla period deal mostly with Buddhist gods and godesses and the art, though simple in composition, is characterized by sinuous lines and subdued tones. Some of the best examples of miniature paintings are to be found in the Prajñāpāramitā and other Buddhist texts of the 12th to the 14th century A.D.

B. In Other Asian Countries

The influence of Buddhist art has probably no parallel in Asia. When it is remembered that the earliest historical remains in India are generally Buddhist, the continuous development of Buddhist art in and outside India forms a fascinating story. Successive dynasties of kings while patronizing art brought into being great monuments worthy of not only the highest veneration by devotees, but of admiration of art connoisseurs from all parts of the world.

If the study of Indian art of the historical period begins, to all intents and purposes, with the very few, but most valuable specimens of the sculptor's art of the Mauryan period, the Aśokan pillar capitals crowned by animals show a vigour which strangely combines indigenous traditions with imported influences. It is known from the inscriptions of Aśoka that he had wide contacts with foreign powers and it is no wonder that such influences from Persia are seen in these pillar capitals. There are several terracottas of the early centuries of the Christian era from Mathura, which was a great centre of Buddhism, showing peculiar caps in terracotta figurines. During the time of the Satraps of Mathura, the fusion of foreign with indigenous traditions continued and in the Kuṣāṇa period we have several examples of these interesting features in stone and clay. If the Kuṣāṇa sculptures in some cases show strong Gandhāra influence, it is to be

accounted for by the fact that the large empire of the Kuṣāṇas included the north-western frontier also. If the Kuṣāṇa sculpture of the 2nd century A.D. with such charming carvings as the Bhutesar yakṣīs and other similar carvings is closely allied to similar sculptures from the Kṛṣṇā valley in Amarāvatī and elsewhere, where the traditions of fusion with foreign elements also existed, it is because both the schools grew out of an earlier common source in the Mauryan period and were continued in the North and South by the Śuṅgas and the Śātavāhanas respectively, of whom the former were succeeded by the Kuṣāṇas in the North.

It is startling indeed to discover that the exquisite ivory carvings from Begram[1] so closely resemble the Kuṣāṇa sculpture from Mathura of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.; but this is easily understood when it is remembered that they are from the western end of the Kuṣāṇa empire and are reminiscent of sculpture found along the eastern and western borders of the Śātavāhana empire. The toraṇa gateways, the toilet scenes, the mithunas, the makaras, the lotus motifs and the long undulating creeper motif of the kalpavallī type are all favourite themes equally in the Kuṣāṇa sculpture of Mathura.

It is the same toilet box here as at Sanchi. The type of mirror held by the damsel decorating herself and arranging her coiffure is the same as in Mathura or even Amarāvati. Indeed, one of the medallions depicting the toilet scene of Māyādevī as Śuddhodana visits her, from one of the cross-bars of the Amarāvatī rail, cannot but flash across the mind of anyone examining these ivories.

The motif of two maidens closely held together under an arched gateway, which is of frequent occurrence in these ivories, is strongly suggestive of a similar pair of maidens in Kuṣāṇa workmanship from Mathura.

The drunken lady almost sinking to the ground and supported as she is raised, a motif that is a favourite one in

1. In Afghanistan. An excellent comparative study on this aspect has been made by Mlle. Jeanine Auboyer in 'La vie privée dans l'Inde ancienne d'après les ivoires de Begram', in *Nouvelles Recherches archéologiques à Begram.*

Mathura sculpture, has its prototype in Begram also.

The slipping on of the mañjīrā on the foot of the lady in Begram is not only frequently met with in Kuṣāṇa sculpture from Mathura and in Śātavāhana sculpture from the Amarāvatī rail, but continues even later as a pleasing motif in Gupta art. One has only to recall in this connection the vāmanikā busy adjusting the mañjīrā of the queen; one of the gems of Cakravartī Māndhātā from an Amarāvatī sculpture now preserved in the British Museum. The prasādhikā adjusting the anklet at Begram is an equally interesting vāmanikā with whose performance her mistress is highly pleased as seen from her beaming face.

The adjusting of the necklace in an artistic fashion as depicted in a Mathura sculpture from Saṅkāśya, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is bound to strike one examining a similar ivory carving from Begram. The mañjīrās are presented to the lady who sits on a low circular seat waiting to be decorated, as is the case in sculpture elsewhere in India, for instance, at Amarāvatī, where the prasādhikā kneels at her feet, and offers her the anklets on a tray.

The adjusting of the ear ornament (kuṇḍala), as it is shown at Begram, calls attention to the padmarāga type of ear-ring at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The woman wringing the water from her long, flowing tresses after her bath while a swan hastens to swallow the drops of water mistaking them for pearls is as pleasing a motif here as in Mathura.

The beautiful description of the lady riding a richly caparisoned horse, as given in the Harṣacarita by Bāṇa, is probably most effectively depicted in sculpture at Begram.

The dancing scenes from Begram have their counterparts at Mathura and Amarāvatī and the harp-shaped vīṇā, the flute, the karatala and the mṛdaṅga are easily recognized.

The lady carrying food and water, the former on a plate with a conical lid, is found both at Amarāvatī and Mathura. It occurs again and in the same manner at Begram also and

the common heritage is unmistakable.

Another phase of this art in Gandhāra shows the powerful influence of Greco-Roman traditions on this area where some of the finest figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were created. In fact, the earliest images of the Buddha in human form, which were contemporary with, if not earlier than, the earliest similar representations of the indigenous schools at Mathura and at Amarāvatī, are the Gandhāra images of the Buddha. The Master is here conceived in Greek pattern—almost Apollonian in physical beauty—and even the garments that adorn him are arranged with folds characteristic of Greco-Roman sculpture. Even for the Bodhisattvas everything except the jewellery is well-nigh Greek in conception and execution. In these Gandhāra figures a notable feature is the presentation of the physical form with its great emphasis on anatomy. The sculptor does not round off the contours, but takes great pains to indicate the modelling of the human form in such a way as to suggest the strength of physical perfection through the disposition of the muscles. In indigenous sculpture, on the other hand, the angularities are not shown and the contours are rounded to suggest something spiritual, avoiding the element of flesh. Some of the masterpieces of Gandhāra sculpture demonstrate the great care and study the sculptor bestowed on depicting the physical form.

The Buddha as an ascetic, almost skin and bone with the veins standing out, could never have been conceived by a sculptor of the indigenous school, and is depicted only in Gandhāra sculpture. The most perfect representation of the emaciated Buddha is preserved in the Lahore Museum. The sunken eyes, the skeletal features, and the protruding veins of this figure of the Master make it indeed a rare specimen of Gandhāra art.

The representations of Siddhārtha's birth in indigenous sculpture all over the country never portray the child in human form, whereas in Gandhāra sculpture the child is shown as issuing from his mother's side. Even at Amarā-

Toilet Scene. Ivory, Begram, 1st-2nd century A.D. (Courtesy, Musee Guimet, Paris)

Colossal Buddha, Bamiyan, 4th-5th century A.D. (Through E.A.M.)

vatī and at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa where the physical form of the Buddha came into vogue by the second century of the Christian era, the child's birth is indicated by footsteps on the silken garment held by Indra and it is only in Gandhāra sculpture that the human form of the new-born babe is represented.

The presence of Vajrapāṇi as a body-guard of the Buddha is another feature that is found in Gandhāra sculpture depicting scenes from the Buddha's life. Vajrapāṇi is conceived here almost like Hercules with a very rough bone shaped thunderbolt in his hand. The milder Vajrapāṇi in Amarāvatī and Nāgarjunakoṇḍa sculpture may well have been derived from this type. However, in the former case both the figure of Vajrapāṇi and the form of the vajra undergo a transformation. The thunderbolt becomes three-pronged on either side and the wielder of this weapon becomes an attractive deva very different from the bearded and semi-naked muscular figure in Gandhāra sculpture.

Even in the representation of individual scenes of the Buddha's life in which Gandhāra art abounds, there are several special features which are noteworthy. The scene of the Buddha attending school and his scholastic life are a great favourite of this school of sculpture and the prince is generally represented as travelling in a chariot drawn by rams. Takṣaśilā being a great seat of learning, the sculptor never missed an opportunity of representing the prince slate in hand, busy learning the alphabet. The scene of the great departure in Gandhāra sculpture is always accompanied by the preceding scene of the prince taking a last look at his faithful wife and his new-born child. The sending of the assasins by Devadatta is another common scene in which the Gandhāra sculptor takes great pains to show the ruffians as specimens of great muscular strength. Probably, the best representation of the Buddha in Gandhāra sculpture is the one from Hoti-Mardan. It must be noted that in Gandhāra sculpture the halo of the Buddha is of the simplest without any border decoration as in the Mathura

Kuṣāṇa figures where the scalloped edge is a typical feature.

The reliquary from Shahji-ki-dheri from the stūpa near Peshawar excavated by Spooner is important as it bears an inscription with the name of Kaniṣka and of Agisāla, the Greek craftsman who made it. It is a valuable treasure of the Peshawar Museum. It is noteworthy that here the row of geese with their necks bent and beaks thrust forward is very similar to the one on the Aśokan lion capital from Rāmapūrvā, except for the fact that their wings are extended. Below this frieze the reliquary is decorated with a garland roll carried by playful juvenile cupids. The Buddha is seated on the lid of the casket with two attendant figures on either side.

In Bamiyan in Afghanistan there are colossal figures of the Buddha modelled on an earlier Gandhāra type, belonging to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. These colossal images, one of them 175 feet high and another about 120 feet, evoked the admiration of Yuan Chwang who saw them on his way. These figures are carved out of a sandstone cliff in the region in niches, like the monasteries and temples that honeycomb the area for over a mile. The creation of these is undoubtedly one of the boldest strokes of the later Gandhāra sculptor. Clearly, in producing such colossuses the object is to emphasize the mahāpuruṣa aspect of the great Master, who, according to legend, could fill the largest throne as he did when he went to heaven. He was represented as a towering figure of gigantic height to dominate and arrest attention. It is this concept that accounts for the gigantic images found elsewhere, for instance, in Ceylon and Thailand and Chandi Mendut in Java. It may be recalled that the great parinirvāṇa figure of the Buddha at Ajanta of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period is also colossal.

The Gandhāra stūpa is interesting as a phase of development from the earlier simpler stūpa with emphasis on the square base, the circular drum, and the large and conical finial over the harmikā, and a similar development will be observed in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand also.

Bodhisattva, Terra-cotta, Fondukistan, c. 7th century A.D.

Thuparama Dagoba, Anuradhapura, Ceylon (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Ceylon)

The lantern roof of the sanctuaries at Bamiyan is particularly noteworthy. The laying of beams diagonally across the corners of a square in successive tiers of diminishing dimensions is especially associated with this area from where it must have spread to both western Asia and Turkestan.

From Hadda[1] come some of the finest figures in stucco which probably go back to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. They are remarkably well made and are full of life and animation. There is a rare strength and vitality in these stucco figures. The element of portraiture is very strong and it may be said to have reached perfection in this area.

From Fondukistan[2] are derived some of those exquisitely worked and extraordinarily beautiful figures of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas, the former wearing flowing garments on their youthful bodies which are so modelled as to suggest softness to the touch. The figures are animated and have the rare grace that one comes across in Gupta works of about the same period in Indian art. The bejewelled Buddha from Fondukistan represents a compromise between the emperor and the monk, for it must not be forgotten that the astrologers had predicted two possibilities for the child of Śuddhodana—either that of a universal emperor or that of a universal Master after enlightenment. This almost incongruous combination of a monk's garb with royal decoration in a variety of rich jewellery was probably a special feature of Fondukistan as of the mediaeval sculpture of the eastern Indian school under the Pālas. In this connection, it should be remembered that the crowned Buddha commonly met with in Pāla sculpture was a replica of this earlier Fondukistan variety; but while here the curls of the Buddha are still the same as in normal figures with ear ornaments, necklets and other jewels, the crowned Buddha of Pāla sculpture has a regular crown on his head in addition.

The classical Indian element can still be found at Bamiyan and in Chinese Turkestan where the paintings

1. In Afghanistan.
2. Also in Afghanistan.

show great affinity with those at Ajanta and Bāgh. The painting of damsels from the large Buddha niche from Bamiyan, which is comparable to a similar figure from the Treasure Cave in Kizil in Turkestan, is a case in point. The lady in the lotus tank from Dandan Uiliq is yet another example of a figure of classical Indian grace found in Central Asia. It recalls a verse of Kālidāsa describing a summer scene when the lotus stalks in the pond rise out of the water as it recedes from the steps of the pond, so that the damsel stands only up to her hip in water as she steps in for her bath: *uddaṇḍapadmaṃ gṛhadirghikāṇāṃ nārīnitamba-dvayasaṃ babhūva*[1].

Hārīti has been given an honoured place in Buddhist sculpture. She is a great favourite as she comes closest to the highest of the mātṛkā concept—the mother bestowing the purest maternal affection on her children. The figure of Hārīti with that of Pāñcika is probably as much a favourite in Gandhāra sculpture as is Hārīti by herself in Chinese Turkestan and in Java. A fine sculpture, remarkably akin to similar Indian representations, is a modern Japanese image of Hārīti in the collection of Mr. Henry H. Getty. She has her place in Chinese sculpture also and is shown with a child in her lap as in the Japanese figure. A wall painting from Domoko in Chinese Turkestan, and now in the British Museum, like another painting from Turfan, at present in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, shows this mother with children playing around her as in the case of the standing Hārīti from Gandhāra in the Lahore Museum.

Among the paintings from Chinese Turkestan, there is one from Kizil in the Kucha area in which a remarkable scene from the Buddha's life is presented. India, where the story of Ajātaśatru has been represented in a few scenes at Bhārhut and Amarāvatī, has unfortunately no such scene. This remarkable painting depicts king Ajātaśatru as the story of the passing of the Buddha is narrated to him. It was feared that the disclosure of the news would so shock the

1. Raghuvaṃśa, XVI, 46.

king that it would at once cause his death. His wise minister, Varṣakāra, caused the principal scenes from the Buddha's life to be presented on a canvas in order to be shown to the king so that he could understand the final death or the nirvāṇa of the Buddha by a narration beginning with his birth, his enlightenment, his first sermon and concluding with his death. In this remarkable painting there is a fine admixture of Indian, Persian and Chinese elements, though the central painting, the scroll shown to Ajātaśatru, is almost completely Indian in feeling.

The influence of Buddhist art from India can also be traced in the figures of the Buddhas in the Thousand Caves of the Buddhas at Tun-huang in China. The wall paintings in these caves are akin to those at Bamiyan and may be said to be related to those at Ajanta. The so-called lantern-roof at Bamiyan is also found in Tun-huang. Rock carvings at Yun Kang clearly show Indian origin. Some of the figures are draped in the Indian *dhoti* style which suggests that the artists themselves were probably Indian. In Shansi-Hope Province (to the west of Peking), twenty-one big caves have been discovered. They are supposed to be the oldest Buddhist monuments in China. Their sculptures are in the style of Bamiyan, Gandhāra and Ajanta and the human figures are Indian. So also are the newly discovered grottos on Maichi mountain (Kansu Province), where figures are seen in Indian drapery (*dhoti uttarāsaṅga*) with crowns on their heads.

The Chinese Buddhist Association recently published (Nationalities Publishing House, Peking, 1955) a number of colour plates illustrating Buddhist scenes and monuments in China and Tibet. They show Buddhist sculptures from the 4th century onwards in the grottos of Yun-kang, Maichi-shan and of Pingling temple as well as in the caves at Tun-huang. These art monuments show the influence of the Gandhāra school as well of the pure Indian style of the Gupta period.

The characteristics of the art of painting in Central Asia

and China provided a prototype for the Buddhist paintings of the T'ang period in China and for the paintings at Horyuji in Japan. The paintings on the walls of the Horyuji Monastery (8th century A.D.) clearly recall Indian influence which may perhaps have come through China.

Like the Hārīti figures which abound wherever Buddhism spread, sculptures and paintings representing the guardians of the quarters are to be found in all areas which came under the influence of Buddhism. One tier in the great stūpa at Borobudur is entirely devoted to the guardians of the quarters such as Virūpākṣa, Viruḍhaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Kubera, and there are similar representations in Tibet and China and even in far-off Japan. From Nara comes the image of Komoku-ten, the guardian of the west and a counterpart of Virūpākṣa. This Nāgarāja is shown standing on a crouching dwarf yakṣa very similar to other early yakṣa figures, particularly the Kupīra yakṣa from Bhārhut. The persistence of this iconographic motif of a normally proportioned yakṣa standing on a dwarfed one, a feature also found in similar representations in early sculpture in India from Bhārhut and elsewhere, even in representations from other faiths, for instance, Śiva on the Guḍimallam liṅga in South India, points to a very ancient and popular yakṣa cult.

Of the two oldest stūpas from Nepal, the Śambhunāth and the Bodhināth, the latter presents a typically Nepalese form. It is a tumulus over a square base with the box-like harmikā on top, surmounted by the conical finial which is so characteristic of stūpas from other parts of South-East Asia, including Ceylon and Burma. But here the noteworthy feature is that the Buddha is conceived of as all-seeing; hence the pairs of colossal eyes looking in all the four directions. This concept is to be traced to the idea of caturamukha in the case of Śiva and other deities. Even the colossal faces looking in the four directions at Bayon at Angkor Thom are probably meant to reflect the omnipresence which is indicated by Brahmā's four faces.

The Tibetan stūpa is not very different from the Nepalese

one, but the most famous chorten or stūpa from Gyan-Tse with its unusual plan and elevation reminds one of the Borobudur stūpa in Java.

The art of Nepal and Tibet is largely derived from Pāla art, just as Buddhism itself was introduced in this area from Nalanda. The Buddhist pantheon comprises many gods and goddesses—the Dhyānī Buddhas, the Mānuṣī Buddhas, the Bhaiṣajya Buddhas or medicinal Buddhas, Maitreya, the future Buddha, the Bodhisattvas or potential Buddhas, Tārās, Mārīci, the Lokapālas, Jambhālas and several other gods and goddesses. The monasteries in Tibet contain stucco figures, wood carvings and taṅka paintings illustrating belief in transmigration, magic circles and astrological diagrams as also gods and goddesses of the pantheon. There are several portraits from Tibet illustrating great masters like Padmasambhava, Ācārya Atiśa and others who were responsible for the propagation of the faith in that country.

Some of the most marvellous monuments in the Buddhist world belong to Ceylon, and her sculpture is closely associated with the early art of the Krishna valley and the later Pallava and Coḷa kings owing to the close relations that existed between South India and Ceylon. The lovely standing figure of a prince near Ruanweli stūpa, believed to represent king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and dating from the 2nd century A.D., is equal to any of the best sculptural representations from Amarāvatī of the rail period. A standing Buddha from the same place and of the same date is an exact replica of similar figures from Amarāvatī and allied sites. When it is remembered that Amarāvatī was a great centre of Buddhist sculpture and metalwork and that several bronzes of the Amarāvatī school have been found in the Malayan Peninsula and beyond—the figures from Dong Duong in Indo-China and from Sempaga in the Celebes being very famous examples of the Andhra metal images in distant places in South-East Asia—this feature becomes easily intelligible.

Probably the most remarkable image of the Buddha of

a very early date is the seated one in meditation from Anurādhapura.

The Nāgarāja as dvāra-pāla at Anurādhapura with a pūrṇa-kalaśa in his hand and a lotus with a long stalk in the other in early Pallava style still has the grace of an Amarāvatī work. This is an indication of the gradual substitution of the former by the motif of the river goddess as guardian of the gateway, which starting at Amarāvatī continues in a modified form in the representation of the lady with a creeper on a makara. This motif is a common feature of doorways in South Indian temples. With the makara and the lotus as motifs for decoration the sculptor of Ceylon has achieved very pleasing effects as in some of the South Indian Pallava and Coḷa temples.

The elephant as the supporter of the universe, which is found so often in caryatid form in the rathas at Mahābalipuram and the colossal rock-cut temple at Ellora, has a still earlier representation in a dedicatory stūpa from Anurādhapura which goes back to the pre-Christian era.

The moonstone doorstep, irihanda gala, with a pleasing pattern of lotus petals as in a halo encircled by a border composed of rows of geese and animals in successive bands separated by intervening floral designs, at once recalls similar moonstones from Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The strong influence of the ṛṣi cult and the veneration for sages, particularly Agastya in South India, has had a special sculptural efflorescence not only in the extreme south of Peninsular India, but also in Ceylon and Java. If Bhaṭāraguru of Java is so important and the Agastya figure occurs in the ship carved in the Borobudur monuments, the features of the saint are equally prominent in the carving presenting Parākramabāhu at Polonnaruva.

Of the later figures of the 11th and 12th century A.D. in Ceylon, the colossal one from Polonnaruva of the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, lying in great calm, with his beloved Ānanda standing beside him with his hands crossed in devotion and veneration, is probably one of the greatest

Apsaras. Sigiriya, Ceylon, 5th century A.D. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Ceylon)

Moonstone at Queen's Pavilion, Anuradhapura, Ceylon

masterpieces of Buddhist art from Ceylon.

The metal image of the Buddha from Badulla, now preserved in the Colombo Museum, is modelled after the Amarāvatī bronzes while the later images follow the Pallava and Coḷa traditions.

The paintings from Sigiriya are probably more intimately connected with the Pallava paintings from Sittanavasal, Panamalai and Kāñcīpuram than any other.

The stūpa in Ceylon is a circular drum on a square base with a long succession of compressed umbrellas forming a conical top over a box-shaped harmikā, of which the Thūpārāma Dagoba at Anurādhapura is a fine example. At Polonnaruva several late Pallava and early Coḷa features are easily discerned in the guardian figures, the balustrades with makara motifs and a frieze of lions. A remarkable maṇḍapa from Polonnaruva is composed of pillars shaped like stout lotus stalks of which nothing now remains except the free standing pillars. The Sātmahal-pāsāda is a seven-storeyed pavilion which recalls similar pavilions, for instance, the Baksei Chamkrong from Angkor.

In Burma, the earliest stūpas are simpler and nearer to their Indian prototypes[1]. The Ngakye Nadaun stūpa of the 10th century A.D. from Pagan is almost similar to the Dhamekh stūpa at Sarnath. The Mahābodhi temple at the same place, which belongs to the 13th century A.D., at once recalls the Mahābodhi temple at Gayā. Other stūpas of the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. from Pagan rise in tiers on a square base and are somewhat more complex than the most modern Shwe-dagon at Rangoon which is more like a top with its head cut flat and placed upside down. In the Ānanda temple at Pagan, which belongs to the late 11th century, the whole story of the Buddha is narrated in interesting panels in which the influence of the Pāla as well

1. The stūpa of Kuang Hmudaw near the Sagain Hills in Upper Burma comes closest to the stūpa of Sanchi in India. A stūpa of a similar shape but with a flame-like projection on the top is also found in the precincts of Vat Visun in Luang-prabang (Laos).

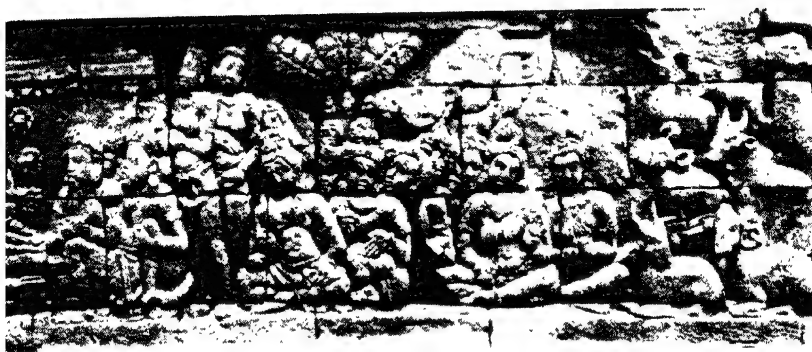
as Kaliṅga workman is obvious. Several important incidents like the carrying of Māyā to lake Anotatta for her bath by the queens of the guardians of the quarters, are presented graphically. Such representations are rare even in India and occur only once at Amarāvatī. The visit of sage Asita is as great a favourite in the Burmese narration of the Buddha's story as at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The birth scene, particularly in this series, recalls strongly a combination of Coḷa and Pāla workmanship, which is not impossible as it was at this time that Rājendra Coḷa's fleet was active in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean.

The series of Jātaka scenes with inscribed descriptive labels found in the eastern Petleik Pagoda at Pagan constitute an invaluable collection of pictorial representations of the Jātakas in the 11th century A.D. The script recording these Jātakas is based on the Veṅgi type from the Krishna valley and the figures are modified forms of the Indian. In the Canda-kinnara Jātaka the kinnara pair recalls a similar kinnara representation at Borobudur. The Valāhassa Jātaka recalls the representation from Mathura of the Kuṣāṇa period. The portraying of scenes from the Jātakas has been such a living art that in the modern Pathodawgyi Pagoda at Amarapura, built in 1820 A.D., the pictorial representations are as lively as ever, especially that of the Kakkaṭa Jātaka which recalls similar representations at Bhārhut two thousand years earlier. The Kakkaṭa Jātaka occurs in a similar fashion even in the Petleik Pagoda, nine centuries earlier. The scene of the Māndhātu Jātaka shows the fallen king passing away in his park on a couch and explaining to his people the emptiness of worldly wishes and desires. There is a similar representation at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

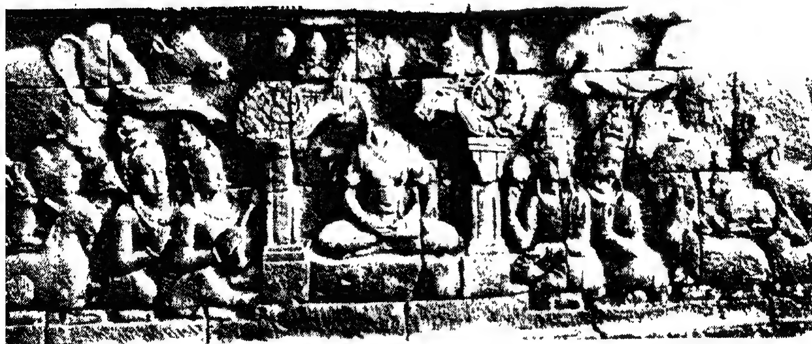
The incident of Nāga Mucalinda protecting the Buddha from a great storm for seven days and nights after his enlightenment, a great favourite in the Krishna valley, is probably nowhere so prominent as in Siam. The Khmer sculptor takes the utmost delight in representing the Buddha

The Buddha's Descent. Siam, after Salmony

The King's Dream. Borobudur, 8th century A.D.



The Sacrifice. Borobudur, 8th century A.D.



The King listening to the Bodhisattva. Borobudur, 8th century A.D.

seated on the Nāga with the hoods held over his head. Even in the earliest Amarāvatī sculpture where the footprints of the Buddha represent the Master, the Nāga Mucalinda is shown coiled round the footprints with his hoods over his own form, represented in anthropomorphic fashion in addition to the zoomorphic, in an attitude of devotion with the hands brought together in añjali. This incident is presented as effectively centuries later in the art of Cambodia and Siam where the human figure of the Master is seated with that enigmatic smile characteristic of the wide-mouthed Khmer figures on the coils of the snake.

Another important incident from the Buddha's life, which has its earliest representation at Bhārhut and which is also a great favourite in Gupta and mediaeval sculpture, is the descent of the Buddha from the Trayastriṃśa heaven after he had preached the Law to his mother. This is depicted in a variety of forms in Siam and is not known to have occurred elsewhere in isolation. It is a suggestive mode of representing the Buddha's descent from heaven at Saṅkāśya. In Bhārhut, where the physical form of the Buddha is absent, this descent is depicted by a triple ladder and the feet of the Buddha, one at the top and the other at the bottom. In Gupta sculpture the Buddha flanked by Brahmā and Indra, the one holding a parasol and the other a *chauri*, is shown with the steps of the ladder at his feet and below him. In later mediaeval sculpture the ladder is very often omitted by the sculptor altogether. The special feature of this scene from Siam is that the sculptor has chosen to represent suggestively the descent of the Buddha as he traverses the sky to reach the earth. He is flanked by the attendant figures but the ladder is shown in order to suggest the sky. The sky no doubt could be represented by the sun or moon, but since a circle or a wheel would suggest the dharmacakra and create confusion by making it appear as a scene of dharmacakra-pravartana, the eagle has been chosen instead to suggest Viṣṇupāda, the sky. As the word Viṣṇupāda means both the sky and the vehicle of

Viṣṇu, the eagle has been chosen to suggest the sky. Like the māhāpuruṣa Tīrthaṅkara wearing Śrīvatsa on the chest in the manner of the Puruṣottama Viṣṇu, the Buddha as the māhāpuruṣa is shown riding the vehicle of Viṣṇu which suggests Viṣṇupāda, the sky, whence he descended.

The greatest period of Buddhist art in Java was during the time of the Śailendra kings, from the eighth to the tenth century A.D. The great Śailendra monarchs were intensely devoted to the Buddhist faith and were in active touch with the Pāla and Coḷa kings in India. This Javanese influence is obvious both at Nalanda and at Nāgapaṭṭinam, and these Javanese sculptures in their turn point to Indian origins. The copper-plate grant of Devapāla-deva shows the close relationship between the Śailendra and the Pāla empires and in this is mentioned the important monasteries built by Bālaputra of Suvarṇa-dvīpa in the 9th century A.D. Rājarāja, the great Coḷa emperor who was a devotee of Śiva, but very tolerant in religious matters, was munificent in his gifts to the Buddhist Cūḍāmaṇi Vihāra in Nāgapaṭṭinam built by the Śailendra king, Māravijayottuṅgavarman.

The Buddha flanked by the Bodhisattvas seen in the temple at Chandi Mendut is probably the loveliest produced in Java. It is not dissimilar to the seated Buddha found at Ajanta and elsewhere and closely follows its earlier Gupta prototypes. The back of the siṃhāsana on which he is seated is characteristic of similar representations of the late Gupta and early mediaeval periods in India. The Chandi Mendut, though a small monument, has very interesting carvings, some of them illustrations of well-known fables from Indian collections. The stories of the talkative tortoise, the monkey and the crocodile are portrayed with great gusto. A fine representation of Hārīti also comes from this monument.

Close to it is the famous Borobudur stūpa, which is a marvel of architectural and sculptural beauty. Scenes from the life of the Buddha, from the Jātakas and from the story of Sudhana in quest of enlightenment are shown in the tiers

of this great monument.

The Buddha as he finally evolved into the Enlightened One in the course of successive births is represented in his well-known dhyāna posture in rows of clearly perceptible figures on the four sides of the stūpa. These are only partially visible in the lattice-walled miniature stūpas arranged in the higher tiers, and finally invisible in the crowning stūpa with no lattice work to reveal the figure inside. This is symbolic of the transition from the gross and physical to the subtle and the infinite, from sarūpa to arūpa.

The stūpa of Borobudur is a monument of wonderful grace and approximates to the śrīcakra pattern in the sarvatobhadra fashion with the central bindu in Meru form at the top. The flights of steps leading up to the top on the four sides face the cardinal points with makara balustrades and makara-mukha toraṇas at intervals. The makaramukha with the caryatid figure below it occurs as a gargoyle at several points and resembles its Indian prototype. The first of the covered row of carvings at the base of this stūpa shows scenes of torment in hell and the fruits of good deeds in heaven based on the early Indian concept of the life beyond. It has its Brahmanical prototype in the Yamapaṭa of which there is a version at Angkor Vat. How the Bodhisattva in the form of a tortoise helped to save shipwrecked sailors by carrying them ashore, how he was patience itself in spite of the provocation he received in his life as a buffalo, how he preached to the king the great Law even when he was born as a peacock are among the stories graphically represented in exquisite sculpture at Borobudur. The representation of a ship in sculpture is nowhere more beautiful than at Borobudur.

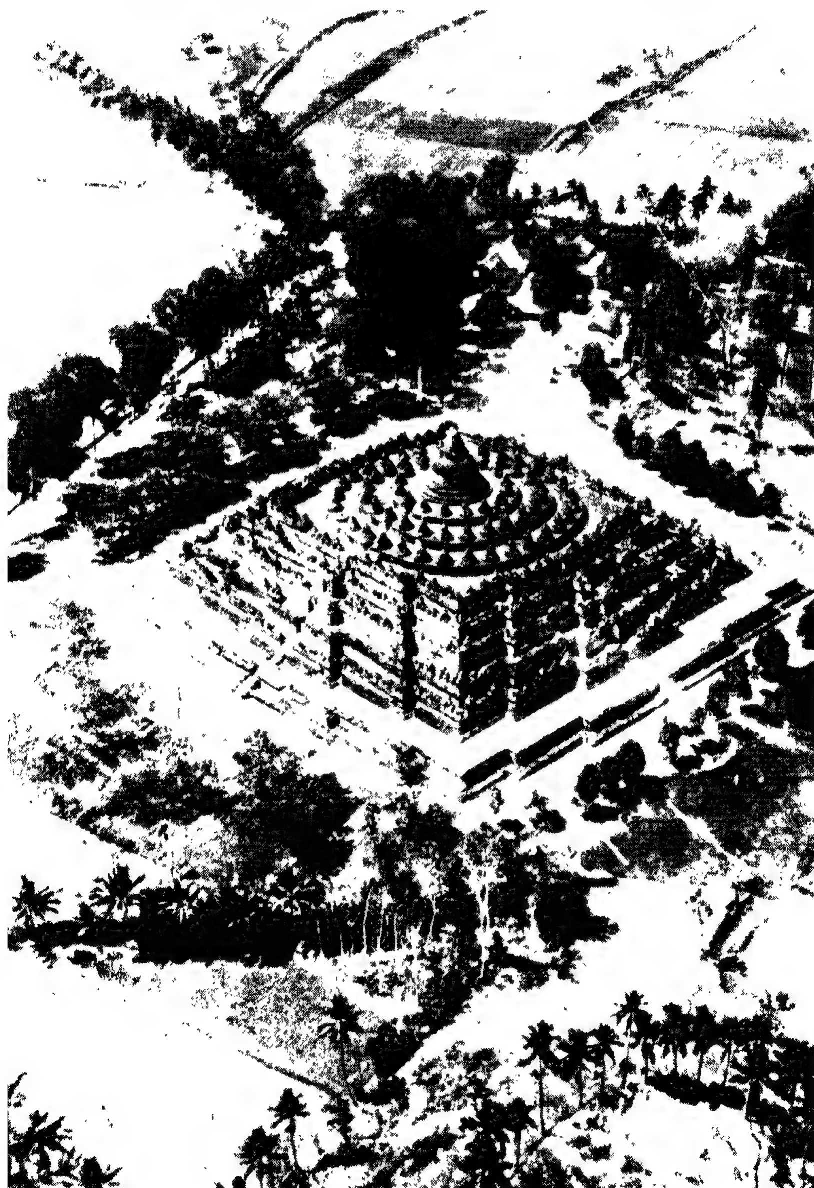
In the narration of scenes from the Buddha's life in the Lalitavistara, the sculptor has created numerous masterpieces in addition to portraying various aspects of Hindu saṃskāras; for instance, where a boy is put to school, the mahāsaṅkalpa on the Śrāvaṇa-paūrṇimā day when he begins his studies, which is still a living custom in India, has its

sculptural parallel carved over 1,200 years ago at Borobudur, where a row of students are represented with their hands clasped in saṅkalpa, while the guru utters the mantra. Arghya, pādya and ācamanīya offered appropriately to guests are splendidly delineated in the sculptural series. The presentation of pūrṇa-kumbha to a mahāpuruṣa, a custom alive to this day in South India, has an early parallel at Borobudur where the pūrṇa-kumbha is offered to welcome the Buddha. The sprinkling of holy water by the priest in āśīrvāda which again is a living practice in India, is presented in sculpture at Borobudur in several scenes, including one of the marriage of prince Siddhārtha and Gopā.

In a Jātaka scene, which still awaits interpretation and which may well be identified with the Mahāsupina Jātaka, Brahmadatta, the king, is having his dreams interpreted by brāhmaṇas. They terrify him and suggest the performance of a sacrifice, for which a host of animals and birds are gathered, but a young pupil of the king's chaplain questions the propriety of this sacrifice. With the help of a Bodhisattva, who according to this tale was born a brāhmaṇa, but renounced the world to become a hermit, the king is admonished, the sacrifice averted and the animals freed. Here is a graphic presentation of the ṛtvik priests assembled round the fire on a sacrificial altar with all the animals and birds ready for the sacrifice, which in a succeeding panel are released after the admonition of the king by the Bodhisattva.

The flight of Vidyādharas on the clouds, the ovoid halos of the divine figures, the pattern of ornamentation and dress, the architectural details of temples and maṇḍapas and palaces in sculpture, the orchestra for music composed of a variety of musical instrùments, including the harp and the guitar shaped vīṇā, the flute and drums of the ūrdhva, aṅkyā and āliṅgya, the dance poses in representations of dance and music, the throne, the chariot, the palanquin, the sword and shield, the variety of lamps and utensils used for worship—all these motifs in Borobudur recall Indian prototypes, particularly of the Pallava and Cālukya type.

Air view of Borobudur, Java (Courtesy, Dinas-Purbakala, Djakarta)



A remarkable masterpiece of the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. is the famous Prajñāpāramitā, now preserved in the Leyden Museum. This image from Singasari is probably the best of this deity anywhere in the world. Of other Buddhist figures in which Java abounds, there are some in metal, particularly the one of Padmapāṇi in silver at the Museum in Djakarta.

Buddhist art outside India has produced a magnificent wealth of sculpture which includes many unique specimens which have no parallel in India. The sculptor has often displayed great vision and thought in producing these masterpieces which compel the attention of scholars and connoisseurs of art all over the world.

CHAPTER XII

Places of Buddhist Interest

A. In Northern India

Gautama Buddha has left his footprint on the soil of India and his mark on the soul of mankind. This human teacher eclipsed even the heavenly gods and the places consecrated by his presence were held in great veneration. Before his parinirvāṇa, the Buddha spoke of the four places which a pious believer should visit with faith and reverence. They are the Lumbinī-vana where the Tathāgata was born; Gaya (Bodh Gaya) where he attained bodhi (enlightenment); the Deer Park at Isipatana (Sarnath) where he proclaimed the Law for the first time; and Kuśinagara where he reached the unconditioned state of nirvāṇa.

In the Buddhist sacred lore there are four other places which with the above four make up the aṭṭhamahāthānāni (aṣṭamahāsthānāni) or eight sanctified spots. They were the scenes of four of the principal miracles that the Blessed One was said to have performed. At Śrāvasti, the capital of Kośala, the Buddha gave a display of his miraculous powers to confound the leader of the Tīrthika sect. Next, in accordance with the practice of the previous Buddhas, he ascended the heaven of the thirty-three gods, preached the Abhidhamma to his deceased mother and descended to earth at Saṅkāśya. Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, was the scene of another miracle in which he tamed the mad elephant, Nālagiri, that had been let loose by his jealous cousin, Devadatta. In a mango grove at Vaisali, a number of monkeys offered him a bowl of honey. The famous cities in India at that time were thus hallowed by their

association with the Buddha's religion.

These holy places became centres of great attraction for the pious believers and pilgrimages were religiously undertaken to these places. Aśoka calls such pilgrimages dhammayātā (dharmayātrā), or tours of piety. Many other places, too, rose into prominence as the influence of Buddhism spread. The places of Buddhist significance are many in the land of Gautama Buddha and in their flourishing days their sanctity, no less than their splendour and magnificence, attracted visitors from far and wide.

Lumbinī

Among the sacred places of Buddhism, Lumbinī where the Blessed One was born must inevitably come first. It has been identified with the site of Rummindei, in the Nepalese Terai. As the birth-place of the Buddha, the site grew in sanctity and importance. Many are the establishments that rose on the site. Very few, however, are now in existence. Of course, there still stands at the site a pillar engraved with an inscription commemorating the great Aśoka's pilgrimage to this place in the twentieth year after his consecration. "Here the Buddha was born", says the emperor, and this statement proves the identity of the sanctified spot beyond any doubt. Apart from the pillar, there is an ancient shrine with an image representing the nativity of the Lord as described in the sacred texts.

Bodh Gaya

Bodh Gaya where the Buddha attained supreme wisdom (bodhi) lies six miles to the south of Gaya, a place of Hindu pilgrimage. To the devout Buddhist there is no place of greater interest or sanctity than the holy spot of the Buddha's enlightenment.[1] Sacred shrines and stately

1. Several interesting inscriptions have been discovered at this site, according to which Ceylonese, Burmese and Chinese people visited this place of pilgrimage. Two Ceylonese inscriptions in Sanskrit tell us about one

[Continued on next page

monuments were raised all around and the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, gives us a glimpse of the past splendour of this sanctified site.

Yuan Chwang ascribes the erection of the original Bodhi shrine to Emperor Aśoka. According to one of his rock edicts, Aśoka visited this place, which is called Sambodhi in the inscription, when he had been consecrated ten years, and it is more than probable that the great emperor constructed a shrine on this holy spot. No vestiges of such a shrine can, however, be found at present. Scholars are of the opinion that the Bodhi shrine carved in a Bhārhut relief (circa 2nd century B.C.) might represent the one erected by Aśoka. It seems to have consisted of a balustraded gallery enclosing the Bodhi tree, preceded by a column of the type on which Aśoka's edicts are carved. The original balustrades seem to have been of wooden construction, which was later translated into stone. The stately structure, which we see nowadays, is a later erection. This temple has been restored and renovated many times. From the description of Yuan Chwang it appears that the temple, essentially in its present shape and appearance, existed already in the seventh century A.D. The Mahābodhi temple in Burma is a prototype of this grand temple.

As it now stands, the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh Gaya is approximately 160 feet high and consists of a straight pyramidal tower surmounted by a stūpa, complete with the harmikā and the hti with a fluted āmalaka-like lower member. The tower has angle āmalakas at the corners, demar-

Mahānāma (II) of Ceylon, who offered an image of the Buddha and constructed a palatial building (*prāsāda*) at this place. Burmese inscriptions in corrupt Sanskrit (in Nāgarī characters) and in Burmese tell us of repairs and offerings to the shrine made on behalf of Burma from time to time. The two Chinese inscriptions (10-11th centuries A.D.) are written by Chinese pilgrims. One of them mentions the names of several Chinese pilgrims who visited the place, along with its author, Che-Yi, and who had taken a vow to do such meritorious deeds as would lead to their birth in the Tuṣita heaven. The second, written by K'oyun (and not by Yu-shu, for which see *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 114), is a eulogy of the three kāyas of the Buddha, namely, Nirmāṇa-kāya Sambhoga-kāya and Dharma-kāya.

cating its different stages. The entrance porch, evidently later than the original temple, is on the east. Each of the four sides of the tower presents several tiers of niches, while the front face has a tall lancet opening for the admission of light into the sanctum. At the base of the tower there rises a turret at each of the four corners, a miniature replica of the main spire.

The temple enshrines a great gilded figure of the Blessed One touching the earth which symbolizes the supreme event of enlightenment. Along the northern side of the temple, there is a narrow masonry platform raised about four feet above the ground. This is known as the "jewel shrine of the walk" or the Buddha's Promenade (caṅkama), where after attaining enlightenment the Great Teacher is said to have spent a week walking to and fro in deep meditation. At the points where he set his feet, there are sculptured ornaments representing the miraculous blossoms which are said to have sprung up in his footsteps. Passing along this promenade and to the west of the temple stands the Bodhi tree and the holy spot of enlightenment, now marked by a red sandstone slab, representing the Vajrāsana on which the Master is said to have reached Perfect Wisdom. The original Mahābodhi shrine, as represented in the early reliefs, is portrayed as enclosing this holy spot including the Bodhi tree. The idea of erecting a temple with a lofty conical tower necessitated its erection a little to the east of this holy spot so that the holy spot and the Bodhi tree now stand at the back of the temple.

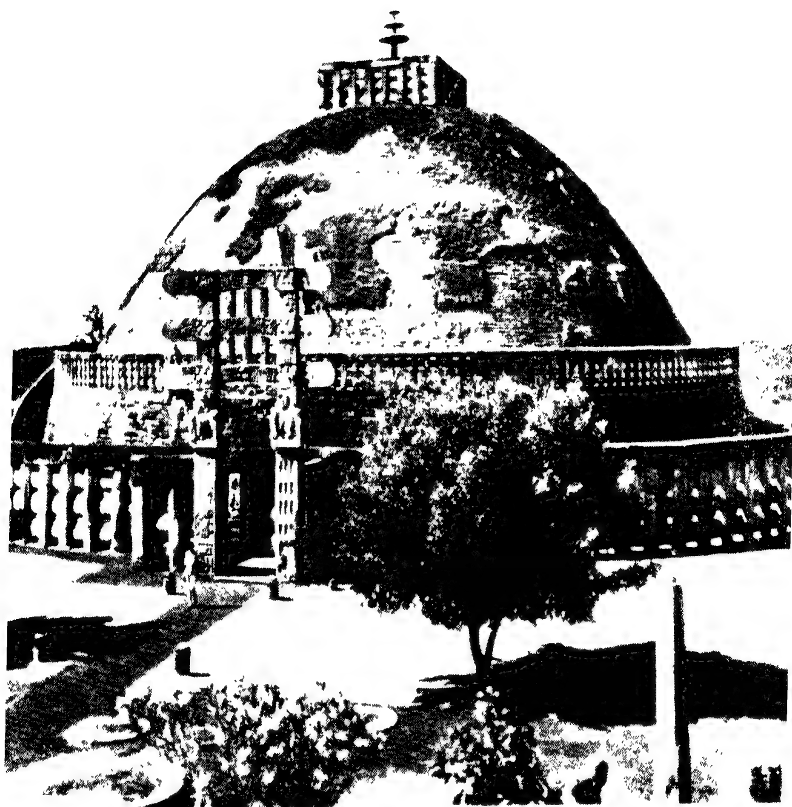
Around the temple lie innumerable remains of which the most important are portions of the stone railing which represent two different periods of construction, the earlier going back to about the 2nd century B.C. and the latter to the early Gupta period. Interesting carvings are still to be seen on these rail posts, and of these the figure of Indra as Śānti, and that of Sūrya, the Sun god, drawn by a four-horsed chariot, are noteworthy. Beautiful sculptures and richly decorated votive stūpas, scattered all round, still con-

tinue to attract the admiring gaze of pilgrims and visitors. The residence of the Mahanta, who was for a long time in charge of the temple precincts, is close to the great temple and, like the sculpture shed nearby, is a store-house of fine sculptures and other relics which once embellished this holy spot. In the immediate vicinity are situated seven sacred sites, which, according to tradition, were identical with those where the Lord is said to have passed seven tranquil weeks in the enjoyment of his Buddhahood.

Sarnath

Sarnath marks the birth of the religion of Gautama Buddha. Hence it became a great centre of Buddhist activities and remained so for more than a millennium and a half. The inscriptions refer to the site as the "Monastery of the Turning of the Wheel of Righteousness" (Saddharma-cakra-pravartana vihāra) by which name this sacred place was known to ancient Buddhist writers. Though very little is known of the history of the Deer Park during the early centuries of Buddhism, the place acquired celebrity, like the other holy places of Buddhism, from the time of Aśoka. This saintly monarch erected a series of monuments, including a pillar inscribed with an edict warning the resident monks and nuns against creating schisms in the church. The Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, visited the place in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D. respectively, and left us valuable information regarding this important site. In later periods also, the site grew in size and prosperity and inscriptions and other evidence relate to the building of new shrines and edifices, as well as to the renovation of old ones, one of the latest being the Temple of the Wheel of the Law founded by Kumāradevī, one of the queens of King Govindacandra of Kanauj, in the first half of the 12th century A.D. Soon after, the place was destroyed, presumably by the armies of Muhammad Ghori. There is evidence of earlier vandalism, once probably by the Hūṇas and later during the sacking of Banaras by Ṣultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Such damage,

Lion Capital of Asoka's Column. Stone, Sarnath, 3rd century B.C. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India)



Main Stupa. Sanchi, 3rd century B.C.—1st century B.C. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India)

however, was immediately repaired by pious devotees, but this final catastrophe brought waste and desolation to the prosperous establishments.

The ruins of Sarnath cover an extensive area. The Archaeological Department has done a good deal of excavation at the site and a number of interesting monuments and sculptures of exquisite beauty and workmanship have come to light. As one approaches the site from Banaras, the first landmark that attracts the eye is a lofty mound of brick-work, locally known as the Chaukhandi, surmounted by an octagonal tower at the top. The mound represents the ruins of a stūpa on a terraced basement erected to mark the spot where the Buddha, on his way from Gaya to Isipatana, first met his five former comrades who were soon to become converts to his Faith.

Half a mile to the north is the site of the Deer Park, which must have had imposing buildings in the days of its pristine greatness. All is now in ruins, save a battered structure, the Dhamekh stūpa, which rears its head to a height of nearly 150 feet above the surrounding country. The ruins have been laid bare by the spade of the archæologists and the site, as exposed, shows that temples and stūpas occupied the central position with monasteries in the area around them. They belong to different periods of construction, the earliest going back to the days of Aśoka. Traces of successive restorations and renovations are also evident in some of the important buildings.

The Aśoka stūpa, seen by Yuan Chwang, has been identified with the ruins of a large brick stūpa, commonly known as Jagat Singh's stūpa after Jagat Singh, the Diwan of Raja Chait Singh of Banaras. He dismantled it in 1794 for bricks for the construction of a market in Banaras. The site of this stūpa probably marks the spot where the Buddha delivered his first discourse and thus literally turned the Wheel of the Law. A little farther to the north stands the broken stump of the Aśoka pillar, the magnificent Lion Capital of which may now be seen in the Archaeological Museum.

nearby. On the east may be seen the ruins of a temple, designated the main shrine, which must date from the Gupta period, if not earlier.

Around the main shrine there is a paved court with a similar approach from the east. In this court are found innumerable remains of stūpas of various shapes and sometimes also of shrines, the remnants of pious benefactions of votaries and pilgrims who flocked to this holy spot. On the north and south were ranged monastic establishments.

Among the ruins at Sarnath, the most imposing is no doubt the Dhamekh stūpa situated at the south-east corner of the site. Battered though it is, it still stands 143 ft. high from its original foundations. Indeed, it is a solid structure, built of massive blocks of stone at the lower stage and of brick, probably faced with stone, at the upper. It is of cylindrical shape and is relieved in the lower section by eight projecting bays, each with a large niche originally containing an image. This lower section has a broad belt of carved ornamentation of intricate geometric pattern with floral arabesques above and below it. The modern name, Dhamekh, is probably derived from the Sanskrit *dharmekśa,* meaning "the pondering of the Law", and since it is in a line with the Dharmarājika stūpa of Aśoka which stands due west of it, it must have been an important monument. The original structure on this spot also possibly dated from the days of Aśoka.

Apart from the ruins and relics of the past, a place of modern interest is furnished by the Mūlagandhakuṭi Vihāra, erected by the Mahabodhi Society where are enshrined certain Buddhist relics discovered at Takṣaśilā (Taxila), Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Mirpur-khas in Sindh.

The antiquities so far discovered in the ruins are numerous and consist of sculptures, bas-reliefs, rail fragments, terra cotta figurines, seals and sealings, inscriptions, pottery vessels, and various other objects. With very few exceptions, they pertain to the Buddhist religion and cover a period of approximately 1.500 years, from the 3rd century

B.C. to the 12th century A.D. They have been housed in a neat little Museum and a sculpture shed, situated near the ruins, which well repays a visit. The Lion Capital, originally surmounting the Aśoka pillar, now occupies a place of honour in the Museum. It consists of four addorsed lions, supported on an abacus over a bell-shaped lower member. The capital was originally crowned by a wheel, the fragments of which have been recovered from the ruins. Symbolical of India's message of peace and goodwill to the world, the capital now forms the crest of resurgent India.

One of the foremost of the sculptures in the Museum is the famous sandstone image of the Master in the act of setting the wheel of the Law in motion (*dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā*), which is a masterpiece of Indian plastic art.

Kuśinagara

Kuśinagara or Kusinārā is sacred to Buddhists as it was the place where under a grove of sal trees the Lord passed into nirvāṇa in his eightieth year. The site has been identified with Kasia in the Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh.

Like the other sacred places connected with the eventful life of the Master, Kusinārā rose to be an important place of pilgrimage and in the course of time was covered with sacred shrines and monasteries. For reasons unknown, however, the place was deserted early in its history, and both Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang note the utter ruin and desolation of this once important site. The remains that have been partially laid bare by excavations are extremely fragmentary, but the identity of the place with the site of the parinirvāṇa is settled beyond doubt by the discovery of inscriptions referring to the Parinirvāṇa Caitya. The stūpa of parinirvāṇa which Aśoka is said to have built has not yet been brought to light. The Parinirvāṇa Caitya to which the inscriptions refer dates from the Gupta period and it is possible that the Aśoka stūpa lies buried under the later construction. Among the other sacred edifices that still remain may be mentioned the Mathā Kunwar kā Koṭ which enshrines a

large recumbent figure of the Buddha in the state of nirvāṇa. The image was found in fragments and has been skilfully restored by Mr. Carlleyle. The great stūpa which stood on the spot where the body of the Lord was cremated and where the relics of the Master were divided into eight equal portions is probably represented by a large mound locally known as Ramabhar. This mound has only been partially examined and a more systematic exploration is expected to bring to light important material relating to the history of this venerable spot.

Śrāvasti

Śrāvasti (modern Saheth-Maheth in U.P.), the capital of the ancient kingdom of Kośala, was sacred to the Buddhists, because it was here that the Master, in accordance with the practice of the previous Buddhas, performed the greatest of his miracles. It was here that the Buddha had to take part in a contest of miraculous feats with the Tīrthikas before King Prasenajit of Kośala and the assembled audience. The Buddha took his seat on a thousand petalled lotus and created multiple representations of himself which went up to the highest heaven. The heretical teachers discomfited at this miraculous event dared not show their own feats and were finally confounded by a violent thunderstorm and obliged to run away. The supreme position of the Master was thus vindicated and he preached the Law before a huge assemblage of people that had come to witness the miracle. The Śrāvasti episode has been a favourite theme in Buddhist art from very early times.

Even from the days of the Buddha, Śrāvasti was an active centre of Buddhism and it was here that the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika built, in the garden of Prince Jeta purchased at a fabulous price in gold, a large monastery for the reception of the Master. The story of its purchase and its eventual presentation to the Lord was a favourite theme in early Buddhist art. In later times also shrines and monasteries arose on this sacred spot which continued to be a flourishing centre

of the Buddhist faith for a long time.

Saheth-Maheth consists of two distinct sites. The larger one, Maheth, spreads over about 400 acres and has been identified with the remains of the city proper. Saheth, covering about 32 acres and lying about a quarter of a mile to the south-west, is the site of the Jetavana monastery. The excavations on the former site have laid bare the remains of the massive gates of the city and the ruins of other structures, indicating the prosperous state of the city in days gone by. The latter, sanctified by the Master's association, rose to be an important place of pilgrimage and numerous shrines, stūpas and monasteries were built in it. The remains so far brought to light date approximately from the Mauryan epoch down to the decadent days of Buddhism in the 12th century A.D. One of the earliest stūpas, the original foundation of which may go back to the 3rd century B.C., if not earlier, contained some bone relics, probably those of the Master himself. A colossal statue of the Master was found at the site. One of the latest patrons of the establishment was Kumāradevī, the queen of Govindacandra, the Gadhavāla king of Kanauj, who donated some land for the maintenance of the Jetavana monastery in the year 1128-29 A.D. Buddhism was already on the decline and the prosperity of this site finally ended with the Islamic occupation of the land.

Saṅkāśya

Another holy spot connected with the life of the Master was Saṅkāśya (Saṅkiśa-Basantapur, Etah district, Uttar Pradesh) where the Buddha is said to have descended to earth from the Trayastriṃśa heaven (Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods) where he went to preach the Abhidharma to his mother and other gods. This event is said to have occurred after the Great Miracle was performed at Śrāvasti, as it was an immutable law that all Buddhas should resort to the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods after they had performed their greatest miracles. According to Buddhist legend, the Lord came down by a triple ladder, accompanied by the

gods, Brahmā and Śakra, and the incident forms a favourite motif in Buddhist art. Owing to this sacred association, Saṅkāśya came to be an important place of pilgrimage, and important shrines, stūpas and monasteries were raised on the site in the heyday of Buddhism.

Both Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang visited the place and left interesting accounts of the important monuments. Through long neglect, however, all is now in crumbling ruins. The accounts of the Chinese pilgrims also are too meagre to admit of any proper identification of the remains extant. The present village is perched on a mound, locally known as the fort, 41 feet high and with an area, 1,500 feet by 1,000. A quarter of a mile to the south is another mound, composed of solid brickwork and surmounted by a temple dedicated to Bisari Devī. Other mounds containing masses of brickwork may be seen scattered around and there are also the remains of an earthen rampart over 3½ miles in circumference. The trial diggings, undertaken long ago by Cunningham, indicate the extremely fragmentary nature of the remains and of the urgent necessity of more systematic explorations. The Elephant Capital that once surmounted a column is an important relic of the days of Aśoka and further explorations are expected to lay bare important material which has relevance to the history of this site.

Rājagṛha

Rājagṛha, (modern Rajgir in the Patna district of Bihar), the capital of the powerful state of Magadha, was sacred to the Buddhists for more than one reason. Not only did the Master go into a retreat several times in this famous city, but it was also the place where Devadatta, his wicked cousin, made several attempts on his life. Moreover, in this city, in the Sattapaṇṇi (Saptaparṇi) cave of the Vaibhāra hill, was held the first Buddhist Council (Saṅgīti) just after the parinirvāṇa.

The remains of the ancient city are few and far between. The site appears to have suffered much at the hands of

time. The ruins indicate that the followers of different religious denominations live here. The Buddhist remains, except for stray and isolated images, are scanty, and it is not impossible that the visible monuments were denuded partly through religious animosities. Even the identification of the Sattapaṇṇi cave, the site of the first Council, is not beyond doubt. According to the canonical texts, the cave was situated on the northern fringe of the Vaibhāra hill and Stein may be right when he identifies the site with the large terrace with a group of cells at the back in a semi-circular bend of the rock on the northern scarp. A remarkable structure, known as Jarāsandha ki Baiṭhak, on the eastern slope of the Vaibhāra hill, with irregular cells at the sides has been identified by some with the residence of Pippala. Some of the Pali texts describes the Pippala cave as the residence of Mahākāśyapa, the organizer of the First Council. From the cyclopaean masonry, analogous to that of the city walls and its bastioned gateways, this erection appears, however, to be more military than secular or religious in character. A mound to the west of the citadel is usually connected with a stūpa, which, according to Fa-hien, was built by Ajātaśatru, and by Aśoka according to Yuan Chwang. Trial diggings on this mound have exposed several strata, none of which, however, can be traced back to the pre-Christian epoch. The cave, called the Sonbhāṇḍār, on the southern scrap of the Vaibhāra hill might have been a Buddhist excavation, though the possibility of its having been a Jaina establishment cannot altogether be ruled out. The Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain, which was a favourite resort of the Buddha, is not far from the city.

Rājagṛha was also an active centre of Jainism in ancient times, as it is now, and interesting remains of Jaina shrines and sculptures are still extant. A singular monument may be recognized in the cylindrical brick shrine, almost at the centre of the old city. It is known as Maniyār Maṭha, and was dedicated, according to local tradition, to the worship of Maṇi-nāga, the guardian deity of the city of Rājagṛha.

Vaisali

The city of Vaisali (Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar), the capital of the powerful Licchavi clan, was a stronghold of Buddhism in the early days. Gautama Buddha is said to have visited it three times during his lifetime. In one of these visits several monkeys are said to have offered the Lord a bowl of honey, an incident mentioned among the eight great events in the life of the Master. It was here again that the Buddha announced his approaching nirvāṇa, and after the nirvāṇa the Licchavis are said to have erected a stūpa over their share of the remains of the Master. A little over a hundred years after the nirvāṇa, the Second Buddhist Council was held here. To the Jainas also, Vaisali was equally sacred, being the birth-place of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Jaina Tīrthaṅkara.

The site of Rājā Bisāl kā Gaḍh is believed to represent the citadel of Vaisali. It consists of a large brick-covered mound, about 8 feet above the surrounding level and slightly less than a mile in circumference. Originally surrounded by a ditch, it was approached by a broad embanked causeway from the south. Trial diggings have exposed the foundations of old buildings of irregular plan which may date back to the Gupta period. All these buildings were of a purely secular character. The most interesting finds consist of a large number of clay seals, official and private, the latter bearing the names of individuals or guilds of merchants, bankers and traders. The official seals indicate that Vaisali was an important administrative headquarters in the Gupta period, and an interesting seal, engraved in characters of the Maurya period, refers to the patrol outpost at Vaisali.

The Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, visited Vaisali in the course of their travels. The latter described the city as covering an area of 10 to 12 square miles. He wrote that, within and without and all around the town of Vaisali, the sacred monuments were so numerous that it was difficult to mention them all. Unfortunately, the area is now practically denuded of any visible remains of religious edifices.

At Kolhua, two miles to the north-west of Rājā Bisāl kā Gaḍh, there stands a monolithic pillar (locally known as Bhimsen's Lath) of highly polished sandstone surmounted by a bell-shaped capital that supports the sedent figure of a lion on a square abacus. It is about 22 feet above the present ground level, a considerable portion having sunk underground in the course of time. In style it resembles the edict pillars of Aśoka, but diggings round the shaft have failed to reveal any Aśokan inscription. Nevertheless, it can be identified with one of the Aśoka pillars mentioned by Yuan Chwang at the site of ancient Vaisali. The line of pillars in the Champaran and Muzaffarpur districts—at Rāmapūrva, Lauriya Araraj, Lauriya Nandangaḍh, and Kolhua—is believed to have marked the stages of a royal journey from Pāṭaliputra to Lumbinī which Aśoka undertook in the 20th year of his consecration. Nearby to the south, there is a small tank, called Rāma-kuṇḍa, identified by Cunningham with the ancient Markaṭa-hrada (monkey's tank), believed to have been dug by a colony of monkeys for the use of the Buddha. To the north-west there is a ruined mound, at present only 15 feet high and with a diameter of about 65 feet at the base, which has been identified with the remains of the Aśoka stūpa mentioned by Yuan Chwang. On the summit of this mound stands a modern brick temple enshrining a medieval image of the Buddha.

It will not be out of place to recount also a few other memorable sites of Buddhism, the sites of sacred shrines, stūpas and monasteries. In the course of the spread of Buddhism in India, such sites, though not particularly associated with the life and legend of the Buddha, rose into prominence on account of the imposing monuments that were raised in and around them. Of these, Sanchi in the former Bhopal State is important as the site of one of the earliest of the stūpas, which later grew into an important centre of Buddhist monuments. Takṣaśilā, (modern Taxila), now in West Pakistan, also rose to be a very prominent site in the early days. Kauśāmbī, the capital city of the Vatsa

kingdom, was an early centre of Buddhism, and it was here that the famous Ghoṣitārāma Vihāra stood. The remains of this monastery have been laid bare in the recent excavation of Kosava, the site of ancient Kauśāmbī, while in the medieval period the Nalanda monasteries in Bihar were famous throughout the Buddhist world of that time. In the days when Buddhism flourished, many other sites, too, became important sites of the good faith (Saddharma).

Sanchi

Sanchi (549 miles from Bombay) is the site of the most extensive Buddhist remains now known in India. The site had no apparent connection with the traditional history of Gautama Buddha; the place is scarcely mentioned in Buddhist literature. Even the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims, which are a mine of information about the other ancient centres of Buddhism, do not refer to this site at all. It is surprising therefore that the monuments at Sanchi should now form the most magnificent and perfect examples of early Buddhist art in India. There seems to be considerable force in the view that Sanchi is the modern representative of Cetiyagiri of the Ceylonese Chronicles, which was situated in the neighbourhood of Vidiśā. It is connected with the story of Aśoka's marriage with a merchant's daughter and the erection of a monastery on the hill where Mahendra, Aśoka's son by that marriage, is said to have halted on the way to his proselytizing mission in Ceylon. Whether the story is true or not, the fact remains that the earliest monuments at Sanchi date from the time of Aśoka and it is not impossible that it was the patronage of this Constantine of Buddhism which made the place an active centre of the religion of Gautama Buddha and was responsible for the splendour of the site in days gone by.

Most of the monuments are situated on a plateau on the hill top which was enclosed by a wall of solid stone about 1100 A.D. Of the stūpas, there are many dating from the 3rd century B.C. They vary in size ranging from the

Great Stūpa that measures 100 feet in diameter at the base and has a vast, imposing dome nearly 50 feet high to miniature ones no more than a foot high.

Originally built of brick in the time of Aśoka, the Great Stūpa was enlarged to nearly twice its previous size, and faced with stone, perhaps a century later, when the massive balustrade and the four imposing gateways were added. These gateways (toraṇas) on the four cardinal faces constitute, with their richly carved decorations, a most striking contrast with the simplicity of the structure behind. All the four gateways are of similar design, and the technique employed in their construction shows that they were more the work of carpenters than of stonemasons. The gateways, with columns and superstructures, are richly carved with bas-reliefs illustrating the Jātaka tales, scenes in the life of the Master, and important events in the subsequent history of the Faith. Reference may be made to one singular relief panel in an architrave of one of the gateways which represents the visit of Aśoka to the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya. The greatest patron of Buddhism has not been portrayed in any other monument in India. This portrait of the Emperor may not be authentic, but this unique representation of one of the greatest figures of Indian history must be cherished by all his countrymen.

Of the many other stūpas on this site, three are specially noteworthy. One of these, stūpa No. 3, is to the north-east of the Great Stūpa and although smaller is of almost identical design. In the relic chamber of this stūpa, General Cunningham discovered the relics of Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna, two of the famous disciples of the Lord, which were recently brought back from London for consecration in a new shrine at Sanchi. Another small stūpa, near the foot of the hill on the western side, enshrined the relics of Kāśyapa and Moggaliputta, well-known Buddhist apostles of the 3rd century B.C.

In the surrounding region, groups of stūpas lie scattered and of these a few have proved to be of particular sanctity

on account of the relics enshrined in them.

Of more historical value are the battered remains of the Aśoka pillar, with its capital of four lions back to back. It is situated close to the south gate of the Great Stūpa at Sanchi. On its broken stump one can still see the edict in which the Emperor forbids in strong terms any schism in the Church. Its lustrous polish, its design and style place it with similar edict pillars of Aśoka.

The chief fascination of Sanchi no doubt rests on these grand old stūpas, not only on account of their sanctity but also because of their rich and elaborate carvings. This fascination is further enhanced by the shrines and monasteries that cluster around them and give a vivid picture of monastic life on this peaceful hill top. Among these, the most noteworthy is the Caitya Hall (Temple No. 18), situated directly opposite the south gateway of the Great Stūpa, and is especially interesting as one of the few examples of this kind of structural edifice.

Another structure recalling the classic temples of Greece may be seen in a tiny and unpretentious shrine (Temple No. 17), consisting of nothing more than a simple flat-roofed square chamber with a pillared portico in front. Though modest in dimensions, its structural propriety, symmetry and proportions, appreciation for plane surfaces and restraint in ornament may very well compare with the best architectural creations of classical Greece.

Of the monasteries at Sanchi, there are five examples and they date from the 4th to the 12th century A.D. The earlier ones, once occupying the site, were built of wood and have perished or been buried under the foundations of later structures. Those that have survived, or are now exposed to view, are built more or less on the usual plan of an open quadrangular court surrounded by ranges of two-storeyed apartments.

The incomparable monuments of Sanchi were rescued from centuries of oblivion as early as 1818 and a host of scholars and archaeologists have tried to resuscitate this

memorable site of the past. The major part of the exploration and restoration work goes to the credit of Sir John Marshall, a former Director General of Archaeology in India, who has not only excavated the numerous remains, but also recreated the structures.

Nalanda

The far-famed monastic establishments at Nalanda (Bargaon near Rajgir) were of supreme importance in the history of latter-day Buddhism. According to tradition, the place was visited several times by the Buddha and the history of the monastic establishments can be traced back to the days of Aśoka. But excavations have not yet revealed any proof that it was occupied prior to the time of the Guptas; and inscriptions, seals and other remains, coupled with references in literature provide a glimpse of the flourishing state of this famous monastic site from the 5th to the end of the 12th century A.D. It was at this monastery that the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, stayed for some time. He gives a detailed and graphic account of the different establishments with as many as 10,000 inmates, their rules and practices. He also mentions Harṣa and several of his predecessors as beneficent patrons of this institution. I-tsing, another Chinese traveller, has also left us a picture of the life led by the Nalanda monks, who were maintained by 200 villages donated by different kings. Nalanda was known throughout the Buddhist world of that time for its learned and versatile teachers, and the names of Ācārya Śīlabhadra, Śāntarakṣita, and Atiśa or Dīpaṅkara, shining luminaries among a galaxy of many others, conjure up a vision of the supreme eminence of the Nalanda Mahāvihāra throughout its prosperous history.

The ruins of Nalanda extend over a large area. The structures exposed to view represent only a part of the extensive establishment and consist of monastic sites, stūpa sites and temple sites. Lengthwise they extend from south to north, the monasteries on the eastern flank and the stūpas

and the temples on the west. The monasteries were all built on more or less the same plan in each case, with rows of cells preceded by a corridor round a central courtyard and a shrine against the back wall, opposite the entrance. Different strata, accumulated one above the other, are clearly seen and indicate successive repairs and renovations. There is also evidence that these monasteries were storeyed structures; and they convey, even in their ruins, a memory of their imposing and glorious past.

Stūpa site No. 3 represents a huge structure standing in the middle of a court on the south-western flank, surrounded by a number of votive stūpas.

To the north of this stūpa and in the same alignment, there have been exposed structures each of which consists of a temple erected directly over the remains of an earlier one.

In the Museum nearby are deposited numerous sculptures and other antiquities recovered during the excavations, and these, by their great variety and fine workmanship, are most impressive.

The wealth of epigraphic material is no less telling. It includes copper-plate and stone inscriptions and inscriptions on bricks and terra-cotta seals. Among the latter, we have the official seal belonging to the community of venerable monks of the great monastery.

The Buddhism that was practised at Nalanda and other contemporary institutions in Bengal and Bihar was no longer the simple Hīnayāna; nor was it the Mahāyāna of the early days. It was strongly imbued with ideas of Tantrism not far removed from Tāntric Brahmanism. The Muslim invasion dealt a death blow to these cloistered strongholds and the flickering remains of the religion of Gautama Buddha, which had been so transformed as to have been absorbed, almost unawares, into modern Hinduism.

B. In Western India

It cannot be said with certainty when Buddhism spread

to Saurashtra. However, there seems to be no reason to suppose that any form of Buddhism existed in the province before Aśoka sent his missionaries to propagate it. He had one of his edicts incised on a rock at the foot of Mount Girnar near Junāgaḍh in the heart of the province. Buddhism soon spread in the province as a result of his activities and several Buddhist caves have been excavated in the southern and south-eastern parts of Saurashtra. From their extremely simple architecture and from the general absence of sculpture, it would seem that they belonged to a very early period, probably the second century B.C., if not earlier.

Junāgaḍh

Junāgaḍh, the capital of the province, which owing to the presence of the Aśoka edict had already become famous among Buddhists, became a centre of attraction for them. In the vicinity of Girnar Hills, we find now on a huge rock the full text of what are known as the Fourteen Rock Edicts. The text inscribed in Brāhmī characters on this rock is remarkably well preserved. Naturally, the most important of the caves excavated in Saurashtra are in and around Junāgaḍh. They must have been very numerous and continued to be important at least up to the middle of the seventh century, for while visiting Junāgaḍh, Yuan Chwang had noticed at least fifty convents with at least three thousand monks of the Sthavira sect. These caves fall into three groups, namely, those in Junāgaḍh proper, those in Ūparkoṭ and those called Khāprākhodiā, close to the town. The caves at Junāgaḍh have two to three storeys and have been excavated in three stages. Two of them measure 28′ × 16′ and 26′ × 20′. Among the caves in Ūparkoṭ, which was the citadel of the old city, the caitya windows, the deep tanks, measuring seventeen feet square, and the two wells, popularly called Aḍioḍi-vāv and Navaghan-vāv, are the most interesting. One of the three Khāprākhodiā caves, locally known as Khanjar-mahal,

measures 250′ × 80′. The other is 38′ square, and the third measures 61′ × 60′. The second and the third caves have four and sixteen heavy pillars respectively. No inscription has been found in any of the caves.

One can imagine from the evidence on the spot that in early times large monasteries must have existed at Junāgaḍh and mount Girnar. The remains of two brick-built stūpas have recently been exposed at Intwa on a hill about three miles away from Aśoka's edict. The only inscribed object found there is a baked clay seal belonging to a bhikṣu-saṅgha which resided in the vihāra of Mahārāja Rudrasena. This king was most probably Rudrasena I of the Kṣatrapa family who ruled from 199 to 222 A.D.

Besides Junāgaḍh, many places have become important in Saurashtra owing to the Buddhist caves found there.

Dhānk

Dhānk is thirty miles north-west of Junāgaḍh and seven miles south-east of Porbandar. Here, four plain caves are preserved, the rest having been destroyed through decay in the soft rock. However, the octagonal pillars with their square bases and capitals still stand. There are also to be found some rude mythological sculptures of a later date, besides a well called after Mañjuśrī.

Siddhasar

A few miles to the west of Dhānk is Siddhasar where there are a number of caves situated in a ravine called Jhinghar Jhu.

Taḷājā

Besides Junāgaḍh, Taḷajā, thirty miles south of Bhavanagar near the mouth of the Śatruñjaya river, also seems to have been a great Buddhist centre. There are 36 caves and a tank measuring 15′ × 20′ One of the largest of the caves is locally known as the Ebhal-maṇḍap and is 75′ × 67½′ and 17½′ high. It had four octagonal pillars but no cells.

One of the caves had a dagoba. The simplicity of the arrangement and the complete absence of sculptures in the caves show that they belonged to an early date, probably only a little later than the reign of Aśoka.

Sānāh

The caves at Sānāh, which is to the south-west of Taḷājā and sixteen miles north of Ūnā, are important. Both sides of the hill are honeycombed with more than 62 caves. They are of a plain type and well supplied with tanks for water. The largest of them is locally known as Ebhal-maṇḍap and measures 68½′ × 61′ × 16½′. It has six pillars in front but none inside. Although the caves in Saurashtra are among the most ancient, they do not possess the interest that attaches to many of the same period found elsewhere. Among the numerous caves there is not a single caitya cave which can be compared with the caves of this class in other parts of the country. The vihāras, too, are very simple and do not show any important architectural features.

Valabhī

From the sixth century A.D., Buddhist activities in Saurashtra seem to have centered in a new place called Valabhī, twenty-two miles to the north-west of Bhavanagar. It acquired great importance as a place of Buddhist interest and Yuan Chwang spoke of it in glowing terms when he visited it in 640 A.D. According to him, there were one hundred convents where six thousand devotees of the Sāmmitīya school resided. In those days, Valabhī was considered to be next in importance to Nalanda as a centre of Buddhist learning, and became the home of the renowned Buddhist scholars, Sthiramati and Guṇamati. Not less than thirty copper-plate inscriptions, of the seventh and eighth century A.D., have been found. These record that land grants were given by the Maitraka rulers of Valabhī to no fewer than fifteen Buddhist monasteries built there by

members of the royal family, their officers and Buddhist saints. The inscriptions, however, do not state whether any of these monasteries enshrined the earthly remains of Buddhist saints. Unfortunately, Valabhī is now in ruins, and nothing remains to prove its former glory.

Kāmpilya

Curiously enough, we do not come across any place of Buddhist interest in Gujarat proper. Only a solitary place named Kāmpilya, near Navasārī, seems to have been of some importance. A copper-plate inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Dantivarman of Gujarat, dated S. 789 (867 A.D.), records that, after bathing in the river Purāvī (modern Pūrṇā in the Surat district), the king donated lands at the request of the monk, Sthiramati, in favour of the Kāmpilya vihāra, where there lived five hundred monks of the Saṅgha of Sindhu Deśa. Another inscription of the Rāṣtrakuṭa king, Dhārāvarṣa, records a similar grant to the same monastery in S. 806 (884 A.D.). It seems that the Buddhist community migrated from Sindh, presumably for fear of the Muslims and founded a vihāra at Kāmpilya which was already known as a sacred place.

Buddhism was most popular in Maharashtra from the time of Aśoka who sent Buddhist missionaries to preach there and had one of his edicts engraved on a rock at Sopārā on the West Coast. From this time, right up to the decline and disappearance of Buddhism, Maharashtra continued to be favourably inclined towards Buddhism. Consequently a number of Buddhist places of interest are to be found in the province. It is well known that, just as Buddhist structural monasteries were built above ground in flat regions, Buddhist rock-cut sanctuaries were always excavated underground in hilly tracts. The latter could not therefore be at places sanctified by the association of the Buddha or of Buddhist saints. The Sahyādri mountain in western Maharashtra with its hard trap was best suited for rock-cut architecture. It was accordingly honeycombed

with cells at every possible spot, so that the majority of the Buddhist caves in India are found in western Maharashtra. It was also customary in ancient times to adorn these caves with mural paintings. The skill involved in rock-cut architecture and its decoration was held in such esteem that the masons who excavated the caves and the artists who decorated them were rewarded with gifts of land as is evident from some of the inscriptions.

The places in Maharashtra which assumed great importance in Buddhist times owing to their rock-cut architecture are Bhaja, Kondane, Pitalkhora, Ajanta, Bedsa, Nasik, Karle, Kanheri and Ellora (Verūḷa).

Bhaja

The earliest caitya hall, dating from the second century B.C., is found at Bhaja. The inward slope of the pillars, the wooden roof girders and the free use of timber show that this hall was an imitation of a wooden prototype. The actual use of wood in rock-cut architecture is a special feature of the earlier period. The octagonal pillars near the walls are plain. Traces of paintings on the pillars and figures of the Buddha attended by chauri-bearers are still discernible. Sculptures of Sūrya and royal personages riding on elephants can also be found.

Kondane

The Buddhist caves at Kondane, which is seven miles from Karjat, are of slightly later date than those at Bhaja. The facade pillars are in stone instead of wood. The caitya hall is one of the earliest and is an important landmark in the development of rock-cut architecture.

Pitalkhora

In the Buddhist caves at Pitalkhora, seven painted inscriptions are found which record the names of Buddhist monks who bore the cost of the frescoes.

Ajanta

There are no fewer than twenty-nine caves of various sizes at Ajanta. They are cut in the hard volcanic rock, some of them going as far as 100′ into the rock, which is naturally considered a remarkable architectural achievement. Cave No. 1 is the finest vihāra in India. The caitya hall in Cave No. 10 measures 100′×40′×33′ and its stūpa has a double tier at the base and a slightly elongated dome. Cave No. 26 contains a gigantic sculpture of the Buddha, considered to be one of the finest in the whole of India. However, Ajanta is more famous for its beautiful paintings than for its architecture or for the carved sculptures in the caves. The walls, the ceilings, and the pillars of nearly all the caves were once decorated with paintings, remains of which are found only in thirteen caves. They depict chiefly scenes from the life of the Buddha and the Jātakas, but there are many paintings of a secular nature too. The Court life of the period and scenes of everyday life are graphically depicted in the frescoes. Indian painting reached its finest development in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. and the best can be seen at Ajanta. Everything is drawn with grace and mastery and delicately modelled. As an artist has said, the more one contemplates the Ajanta frescoes the more one appreciates the subtle relationship that exists between the groups of figures.

The caitya hall at Bedsa, which is four miles south-east of the railway station of Kamshet, measures 45½′×21′. The base of the column is vase shaped and its capital is surmounted by pairs of men and animals seated on kneeling horses and elephants. Traces of paintings can also be seen on the pillars in the stūpa.

Nasik

There is a group of twenty-three caves, dating from the first century B.C. to the second century A.D. at Nasik. Some of these were altered and adapted by the Mahāyāna Buddhists between the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.

Facade of Caitya Hall, Bhaja, Western India, 2nd century B.C. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India)

Mahakapi Jataka. Stone, Sunga, Bharhut, 2nd century B.C., Indian Museum, Calcutta (Photo by Publications Division)

Cave No. 3, called Gautamīputra Vihāra, is large, having six pillars with carvings of elephants, bulls and horses on the capital. Cave No. 10 is called the Nahapāna vihāra. The caitya halls at Nasik and Junnar are more or less of the same type. The Nasik caves are especially important for the interesting and beautiful inscriptions of Nahapāna, Gautamīputra and Śrīyajña Śātakarṇi.

Junnar

There are as many as 130 caves carved in five separate groups within a radius of four miles from Junnar. Hence the town can be said to be the largest monastic establishment in western India. The frequency and smallness of the cells indicate that they belong to an early period.

Karle

The caitya hall at Karle is of the same general pattern as that at Bhaja. In size and splendour, however, it is one of the most magnificent monuments in India. In fact, it is described, in one of the ancient inscriptions found at the place, as the most excellent rock mansion in Jambudvīpa. It was excavated by Bhūtapāla, a merchant of Vaijayantī. Fortunately, it is also among the best preserved. It measures 124′ × 46½′ and the vaulted roof rises to a height of 45′. It has a row of fifteen monolithic pillars on each side with kalaśa bases and bell-shaped capitals surmounted by kneeling elephants, and horses with men and women riders. Its two-storeyed facade has an enormous sun-window. The caitya hall dates from the close of the first century B.C.

Kanheri

There are more than one hundred caves at Kanheri which was also a large monastic establishment. From a number of inscriptions found here, dating from the second century A.D. to modern times, a more or less connected history of the place can be reconstructed. The beginning of

the caves can be attributed to the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi about 180 A.D. Many excavations and sculptures were added from time to time. The introduction of the Buddha image in the establishment is shown by a fourth century inscription recording the dedication of a Buddha image by a certain Buddhaghoṣa. The Śilāhār rulers of Puri, who were feudatories of the Raṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns, took a special interest in the Buddhist establishment at Kanheri and made liberal donations to it as recorded in their copper-plate grants dated S. 765, 775 and 799. Inscriptions of S. 913, 921 and 931 further show that the Buddhist monks still continued to occupy the caves. A modern Japanese inscription of a Buddhist pilgrim of the Nichiren sect engraved on the walls of Cave No. 66 testifies to the continued importance of the caves even in modern times.

Some inscriptions found in Kanheri incidentally tell us of the Buddhist vihāras situated at Kalyan and near Paithan, of which we know nothing from other sources. At Ellora (Verūḷa) can be found the most wonderful caves in the world, mountains cut into colossal sanctuaries. Of the thirty-four caves, the twelve to the south are Buddhist while the remaining are Brahmanical or Jaina. The Buddhist caves are the earliest, dating from 450 to 650 A.D. The entrance to the hall lies through a large open court. The caitya hall, which is called the Viśvakarmā Cave, measures forty-eight square feet. A huge image of the Buddha flanked by attendants and flying figures is seated on a lion throne in a projecting arch of the stūpa. There are a number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images. Two of the monasteries with wide courtyards in front are three-storeyed and rise to a height of 50′. These impressive structures and their execution show remarkable ingenuity.

Besides these, there are many other places of Buddhist interest, each with a number of excavations, some of them as old as any in western India. A number of these also contain inscriptions of interest.

Other important sites

One of the sites of these caves is Kuḍā on the shore of the Rajapuri creek, forty-five miles south of Bombay. Another is Mahad on the Sāvitrī river, 28 miles south-east of Kuḍā. At Karhad in the Satara district, there is an extensive series of sixty caves on the spur of the Agāśiva hill. The cells here are small, the large halls are devoid of pillars, and there is complete absence of sculpture. There is another series at Shelārwāḍi. Two women disciples of Thera Bhadanta Sīha are said to have had the caitya hall at this place excavated and one of the caves was donated by the wife of a ploughman. At Koṇḍivte, three miles from Jogeshwari, there is a group of nineteen caves. In the Sholapur district at Ter (ancient Tagara) there is a structural caitya hall which was built in the eighth century A.D. and later transformed into a Brahmanical temple. In 1188 A.D. the Śilāhār king, Gaṇḍarāditya, built a Buddha temple at Kolhapur on the bank of a tank called Gaṇḍasāgara.

Goa

That Buddhism flourished in and around Goa, farther south, in the sixth century A.D. is proved by the discovery of the Hire-Guṭṭi (north Kanara district) plates which record an endowment to a Buddhist vihāra by the Bhoja king, Aśankita of Goa. Similarly, the discovery of Buddhist statues of a later date in the village of Mushir in the Goa district shows that Buddhism continued to flourish for a considerable period. Buddhist monks in Goa at the time of the Kadamba king, Jayakeśin, are referred to in the Dvyāśraya-kāvya of the twelfth century.

Karnatak

Buddhism began to exercise its influence in Karnatak from the time of Aśoka, whose edicts at Siddhapur and in the neighbourhood are found in the province. His missionaries carried the message all over the land, as a result of which many Buddhist monasteries were built at Vana-

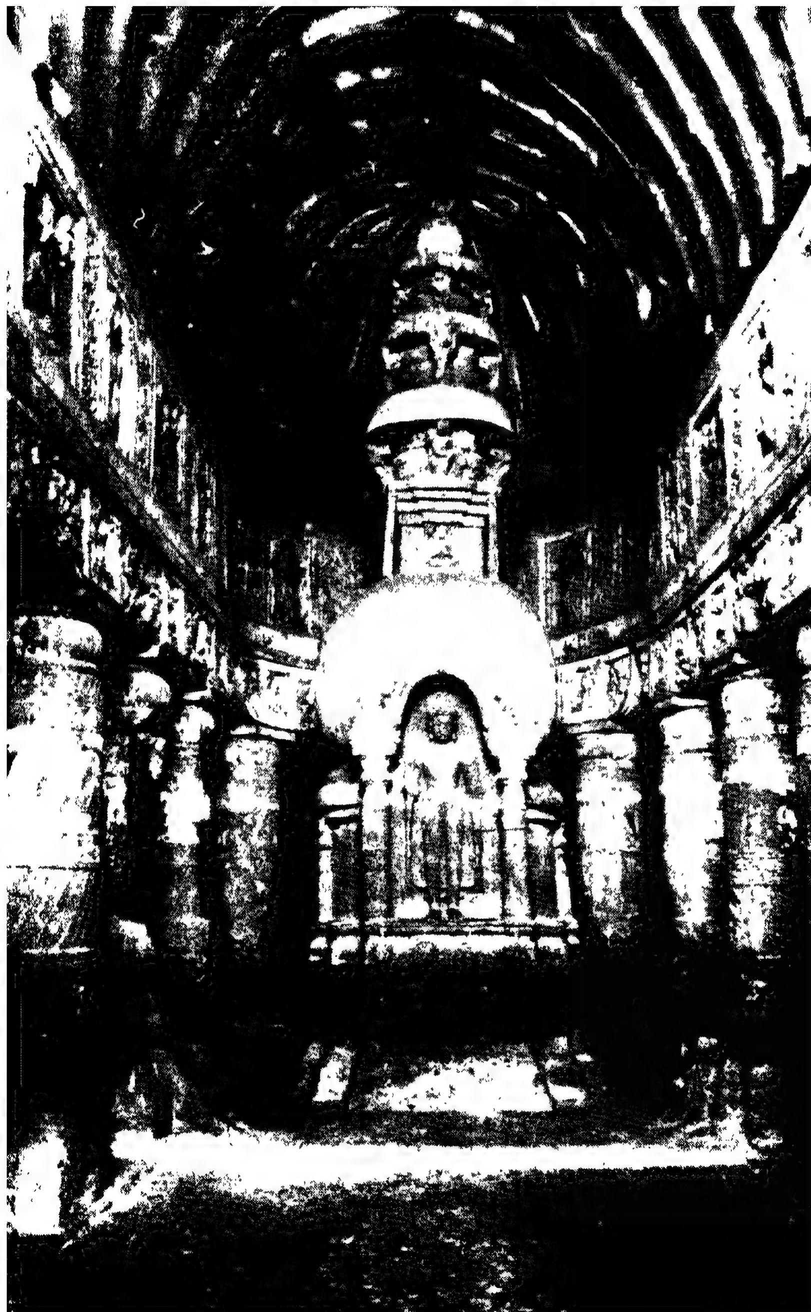
vāsī at the time of the Śātavāhanas. Later, however, probably owing to the stronger influence of Jainism and Brahmanism, the influence of Buddhism declined. A place named Ḍambaḷ in the Dharwar district seems to have become important as a Buddhist centre in the 11th century A.D., as seen from an inscription of S. 1017 (1095 A.D.), according to which a temple of the Buddhist deity, Tārā, and a Buddhist vihāra were built at the place by the sixteen seṭṭis (Śreṣṭhins or merchants) of Ḍambaḷ during the reign of Lakṣmīdevī, the queen of Vikramāditya VI, over the district of eighteen agrahāras. It is believed that another temple of Tārā was built at the same place by Seṭṭi Saṅgaramaya of Lokkiguṇḍi.

C. In Southern India

If a number of places in Maharashtra attained great importance in Buddhist times on account of their wonderful rock-cut architecture, there were certain places in Andhra which were famous for their equally magnificent Buddhist stūpas. Buddhism was well established in Andhra in the time of Aśoka, if not earlier, owing to its situation midway between Magadha, the home of Buddhism, and Ceylon which had already become a stronghold of Buddhism and with which Andhra had seaborne trade through its big river ports. As the Buddhists were largely recruited from the commercial classes, their wealth was utilized to raise magnificent stūpas.

Such stūpas were built at several places in the region between the lower valleys of the Krishna, and the Godavari. A number of Buddhist sites from Śālihundun in the north to Chinganjam in the south have been discovered, of which the following are the most important since they possess magnificent stūpas.

The stūpas at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Guntur district and at Bhaṭṭiprolu, Jagayyapeṭā, Gusiwāḍa and Ghaṇṭśāla in the Krishna district were built between



Caitya Hall, Cave 19, Ajanta, c. 6th century A.D. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, Government of India)

The Buddha. Bronze, Nalanda, 9th century A.D.

the 2nd century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D. These consisted of brick-built hemispherical domes and were characterized by rectangular projections from the base of the dome at the four cardinal points. They were finished with plastic grace, painted white, and embellished at the base with sculptured white marble panels richly carved in low relief. The technical skill and artistic excellence of the Andhra craftsmen are best seen in the construction of the stūpas and especially in the manufacture of small caskets of crystal and other jewellery.

The earliest Buddhist monument in the region is the Bhaṭṭiprolu stūpa built in the second century B.C., probably by a Buddhist missionary during the time of a local king named Kubiraka. The claim that it was a mahāstūpa enshrining the mortal remains of the Buddha is justified by the discovery of a bone relic inside a crystal casket together with flowers made of gold and pearls.

Amarāvatī

Amarāvatī, which is 16 miles west of Guntur, is the most important Buddhist site in Andhra. The stūpa at this place is the largest and most famous. It was first begun as early as the second century B.C. and was enlarged between 150 and 200 A.D. by the efforts of Nāgārjuna. Its dome measures 162′ and has a height of 95′. The width of the pradakṣiṇāpatha is 15′, and the railing surrounding it 14′ high. This stūpa is larger than the Sanchi stūpa which is 120′ wide and 54′ high.

The beautiful railings depict scenes from the Buddha's life. The relief medallions, beautifully balanced in composition, are among the greatest works of art in India. The Amarāvatī stūpa could well vie in artistic beauty and grandeur with the Sanchi and Bhārhut stūpas in the North. Like the Mathura and Gandhāra schools of sculpture, the Amarāvatī school enjoyed great influence. Its products were carried to Ceylon and South-East Asia and had a marked effect on the local styles.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

Nothing was known of this great stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa or the Hill of Nāgārjuna before it was discovered twenty-five years ago. It is situated on the south bank of the river Krishna in the Guntur district. It was also a mahāstūpa, enshrining the mortal remains of the Buddha, and was probably built in the time of Aśoka. It was renovated with additions by Śāntisirī and other ladies of the local Ikṣvāku royal family, to whom goes the credit of making Buddhism popular in Andhra in the third century A.D. Now it is in ruins which are greater than those at Amarāvatī. Hundreds of remarkable sculptures executed in the Amarāvatī style have been found. From the inscriptions on the Āyāga pillars, it is evident that Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the ancient city of Vijayapurī, was of great importance as a centre of Buddhism and enjoyed international fame. Several monasteries were built at this place for the residence of Buddhist monks of different schools coming from different countries like Ceylon, Kashmir, Gandhāra, and China.

The people of Andhra traded in and outside the country and had close contacts with the Roman world of the time. This is proved by the discovery of inscriptions, of sculptures depicting a bearded soldier wearing a tunic, and trousers, and of various other objects of Roman origin.

In Andhra, Guṇṭapallī, 28 miles north of Ellore railway station, and Śaṅkaran, a mile east of Anakapalla, are important for their rock-cut architecture. Other places in the neighbourhood appear to have assumed significance in Buddhist times, as the presence of stūpas and other antiquities testifies. The most notable among these are Goli, Chezarlā, Gummati, Bezwada, Garikapaḍu, Uraiyur, Kuvain, Chinve, and Vidyādharpur.

Nāgapaṭṭam

Nāgapaṭṭam, near Madras on the East Coast, had a Buddhist settlement in the time of the Coḷas. An important

copper-plate inscription of the 11th century A.D. states that the Coḷa King, Rājarāja, gave the village of Anaimaṅgalaṃ for the maintenance of a shrine of the Buddha in the Cūḷāmaṇivarma Vihāra which the Śailendra king, Māravijayottung Varman of Śrī-vijaya and Kaṭāha of Indonesia, had erected at Nāgapaṭṭam. In the epilogue of his commentary on the Netti-pakaraṇa, Dhammapāla mentions this place and the Dharmāśoka Vihāra in it, where he composed this commentary.

Śrīmūlavāsam

Śrīmūlavāsam, on the West Coast, had Buddhist settlements in the time of a ruler bearing the same name. In the great temple at Tanjore scenes from the life of the Buddha are represented in decorative panels.

Kāñcī

Kāñcī, with its Rājavihāra and its hundred monasteries, was a famous stronghold of Buddhism in the South. Five Buddha images have been discovered near this town.

The famous Pali commentator, Buddhaghosa, has mentioned in his commentary (the Manorathapūraṇī) that he wrote it at the request of the Venerable Jotipāla who was staying with him at Kāñcīpura. Yuan Chwang also mentions a certain Dharmapāla from Kāñcī as being a great master at Nalanda. In Korea, an inscription in verse has been discovered.[1] In a preface to it, written by Li Se in 1378 A.D., there is an account of the life and travels of an Indian monk called Dhyānabhadra. This account tells us that this monk was the son of a king of Magadha and a princess from Kāñcī and that when he visited Kāñcī he heard a sermon given by a Buddhist preacher on the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha-sūtra. Clearly, this place was a recognized centre of Buddhism as late as the 14th century A.D.

1. Arthur Waley, 'New Light on Buddhism in Mediaeval India', in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhique*, Vol. I (1931-32), pp. 355-376.

CHAPTER XIII

Later Modifications of Buddhism

Approach to Hinduism

Introductory

The fact that the relation between the Buddha and his contemporary Brāhmaṇas was very cordial has been well demonstrated by Mrs. Rhys Davids. As she has rightly pointed out, the Buddha never contradicted the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the immanence of the Brahman in each individual. What he denied, however, was the existence of the material soul which certain passages in the Upaniṣads seem to suggest. It would therefore not be an exaggeration to say with Mrs. Rhys Davids that what the Buddha preached was in agreement with the central religious tenets or principles of immanence in the Brahmanism of the day.[1] The Brāhmaṇas kept the knowledge of the Brahman a jealously guarded secret and the exclusive property of the privileged Aryans, the first three classes of men, or the Traivarṇika.

The Buddha raised his voice openly against this attitude of the Brāhmaṇas. He proclaimed that in the domain of the true and ultimate knowledge no distinction of class, clan or social status counted, and that it was open to all.[2] It will therefore not be far from the truth to say that originally Buddhism was mainly concerned with the reformation or popularization, as Prof. Max Müller says, of the fourth stage in the scheme of Brahmanic life, *viz.*, true Brahmanism.

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, pp. 274-86.
2. Dīgha, I, p. 99.

However, we should not forget what the Buddha's invaluable and positive contribution to Indian thought was. In the scheme of his religious order, he laid the greatest stress on the fact that one should always train one's mind and body in strict accordance with certain ethical standards called śīla. In the Upaniṣads we find little about ethics. Indeed, the ethics that we come across in some of the passages is overshadowed by overstressed enquiries about the soul and the Brahman and allied subjects. The Buddha thought such enquiries were of little value in our endeavour to bring our day to day sufferings to an end. Subsequently, for the Brahmanical religion, sages like Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba standardized the ethical rules of conduct to be observed by orthodox recluses.[1]

Vedic Ritualism

Vedic ritualism found no favour with the Buddha. He condemned it as unmeritorious and futile, for it entailed the brutal slaughter of animals, hardship for the labourers and lavish waste.

What sacrifice then was more eminent and of greater merit than the Vedic sacrifices? To this question, the Buddha replied that the giving of alms to virtuous ascetics came first, but still greater was the regular giving of alms to the four quarters. More virtuous than this was taking refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Order. Next in importance came the adherence with well-disposed mind to the Learner's Sentences (Śikṣāpada). To renounce the world, join the Buddha's Order and gain insight into the truth[2], however, connoted the highest merit of all. On another occasion the Buddha elucidated his conception of a perfect sacrifice (yajña) in the following terms[3]: To feel happy

1. Gautama's date 500 B.C. (G. Bühler, S.B.E. II), Baudhāyana 400 B.C., Āpastamba 300 B.C.

2. Kūṭadanta-sutta, Dīgha I, 144-47; E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 176 and Gītā, IV, 28,32,33.

3. Aṅguttara, III, 337.

before giving, after giving and in the moment of giving is to achieve perfection in the yajña, *i.e.*, offering. The field of offering becomes perfect when the person who receives alms is freed from the sins of desire, anger and delusion. The wise, performing this yajña, will be born in the happiest of worlds.

The reaction against the Vedic rites began early in the Upaniṣadic period and reached its acme with the Sāṅkhya school of thought. These rites were criticized on three grounds: (1) they were impure, because they caused the slaughter of so many animals, (2) they were perishable, and (3) they fostered feelings of superiority and inferiority.[1] The Bhagavadgītā also speaks of the futility of sacrificial rites on the ground of their perishability.[2] It may here be observed that the Vedic sacrifices in northern India were given up on account of many similar movements which affected Vedic ritualism adversely although their occasional performance occurs even today in southern India.

Bhagavadgītā and the Bhakti Movement

The Bhagavadgītā and the Bhakti movement, according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, owe their origin to the stream of thought which began with the Upaniṣads and culminated in the rise of Buddhism and Jainism in eastern India and arose about the same time as the latter.[3] Buddhism and Jainism soon prevailed in the land on account of their cosmopolitan tendencies. The protagonists of the theistic religion therefore thought it wise to propagate their religion among the masses including the non-Aryans (śūdras). The religious systems in those days were, by and large, atheistic, and the Indian mind tended to indulge in moral discussion and in moral exaltation unconnected with theistic faith as Buddhism and other systems clearly show. Consequently the ideas represented by the Bhagavadgītā were needed to

1. Sāṅkhya-kārikā, verse 2.
2. Chapter IX, verse 21.
3. *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 9.

counteract these tendencies. The Upaniṣads are, of course, full of theistic ideas, but they are so scattered that they had to be organized into a system of redemption in order to be brought within the comprehension of the masses.[1]

The Bhagavadgītā was an epoch-making literary document. It proved a landmark in the history of Indian religious thought in that it gave new direction to religious speculation. The fundamental teachings of the Gītā are concerned mainly with the philosophy of action and the cult of devotion to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Clearly, the author of the Gītā felt it necessary to inculcate in the people a sense of duty and devotion because the air was already contaminated with speculations on inaction and atheism. There were some philosophers, for instance, Makkhali Gosāla, who condemned action as leading to evil. We find in the Upaniṣads also some sayings which betray their antipathy to action (karma).[2] So the Buddha took up the challenge on behalf of the Śramaṇas, non-Vedic thinkers, and stressed the value of action in his scheme of Śīlas, or moral codes, but he remained silent on the theistic problem. The Bhagavadgītā upheld its utility on behalf of orthodox theologists, saying that its good or bad consequences might be averted provided the action were carried out in a spirit of devotion and detachment.[3]

The Gītā has been declared a Yogaśāstra, a treatise on Yoga, and its preacher Yogeśvara, the lord of Yoga. Yoga, as expounded in the Gītā, is not yet a systematized philosophy. The term stands for a variety of meanings. Sometimes it signifies mental abstraction[4], sometimes mental balance[5], on other occasions a mental resolve whereby everything is dedicated to God[6]. Yoga in the sense of a

1. *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 29.
2. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, IV, 4,22.
3. Chapter II, 57; IX, 26,27, etc.
4. IV, 20,34.
5. II, 48, VI, 32,33.
6. II, 39, XVIII, 57.

mental resolve is also common to Buddhist literature.[1] It connotes "concentration", and "devotion", the keynote of the Gītā, which is also found in the Pali Canon.[2] The central theme of the Gītā is that Lord Sri Kṛṣṇa stands before Arjuna as the human incarnation of the supreme Godhead and proclaims his readiness to save whosoever surrenders heart and soul to him while engaged in worldly pursuits. This message of devotion had a far-reaching and permanent effect on Hindu society and social organization. It provided equal opportunities for everybody, irrespective of caste and sex, to lead a religious life and win salvation, a fact which went a long way in cementing the unity of all within the Hindu fold.

The present writer is inclined to place the age of the Gītā in the post-Buddha period as it refers to Buddhist ideas. (1) The instructions regarding proper food, timely sleep and timely waking[3] undoubtedly refer to some of the most important Buddhist teachings born of the Buddha's own personal experiences. (2) The opinion referred to in the lines "some wise men say that the wrongful action is to be abandoned"[4] is exactly what the Buddha held. The Aṅguttara, for example, says that the Buddha confessed himself to be an advocate of inaction in the sense that he argued in favour of abandoning wrongful act.[5] (3) The fourfold food, "annaṃ caturvidhāṃ" mentioned in verse XV, 14, corresponds to that of Buddhist literature.[6] And it is hard to believe that the original Mahābhārata could have consisted of the whole of the Bhagavadgītā. None the less, it is possible that the Gītā was composed in Pāṇini's time, 500—450 B.C., for the grammarian alludes definitely to Bhakti and the Bhāgavata religion. Perhaps,

1. Saṃyutta, V, 414-20,442-62. Note Āpastamba, Dharmasūtra, I, 8,23, where Yoga stands for some golden means, Akrodha, etc.
2. Majjhima, I, 472; Pali Dictionary (PTS).
3. VI, 16-17.
4. XVIII, 3 : *Tyājyam doṣavad ity eke karma prāhur manīṣiṇaḥ.*
5. Aṅguttara, I, 62, IV, 183.
6. *Cf.* Pali : Cattāro ahārā.

the most indisputable evidence in favour of placing Pāṇini in the post-Buddha period is his references to Maskari-parivrājaka, who was in all probability Makkhali Gosāla, the reputed religious leader of the Ājīvika sect.[1]

Varṇas, Āśramas, and the Buddhist Community

The division of the social order of the Hindus into four varṇas has come down from the Vedic period. This order, according to ancient sages, is based on birth and not rank. The Buddha criticized it in his discourses on several occasions. We must not conclude from this, however, that he wanted to destroy the social order of the day.[2] On the contrary, he believed in a social order which accorded the first rank in the realm of secular affairs to the warrior. The claim for this social order finds favour only once in Brahmanical literature, in Gautama's Dharmasūtra (VIII, 1). The Buddha's objection to the order upheld by the Brāhmaṇas arose from his deep-rooted antipathy towards the Brāhmaṇas' claim that they had monopoly over spiritual betterment and salvation.[3] The Buddha was not the first to want to abolish class distinctions in respect of pravrajyā or renunciation; before him there were other religious orders, too, which admitted members of all classes to their fold.[4]

Of the four stages of life, the first two, *viz.*, studentship and householdership were known from the period of the Vedas. The other two āśramas, *i.e.*, forest life and complete renunciation were probably introduced during the period of the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, although no sharp line of distinction existed between the two. The last stage

1. *Cf.* V. S. Agrawala, Pāṇini, etc., pp. 358-60. R. G. Bhandarkar is of the opinion that it was composed not later than the beginning of the 4th century B.C. S. Radhakrishnan pleads for 500 B.C. (*Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 524). Prof. Belvalker expressed in a personal talk to the present writer that he would be inclined to assign to it a date prior to the Buddha.

2. E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 128.

3. *Cf.* Dīgha, I, No. 3; Majjhima, No. 90, pp. 128-30.

4. *Cf.* Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 154.

called pravrajyā and muni is clearly explained in Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.[1] Some proof of the Āśrama theory can also be found in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.[2] The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad makes a distinction between sramaṇa, *i.e.*, sanyāsin and tāpasa or forest-dweller.[3] The same Upaniṣad defines muni as "one who realizes the truth about the soul".[4] This definition happily supports Āpastamba's designation of that stage as mauna. The muni of the Vedic period, according to Macdonell and Keith, seems to be "more of a medicine man".[5] P. T. Srinavasa Iyengar, however, is of the opinion that the first stage, Brahmacarya, and the last, *i.e.*, that of Sanyāsin called muni, were invented in the age of the hymns.[6] It is therefore evident that though the names of the āśramas are not found in the Vedic period, one can amply demonstrate the life of the āśramins.[7]

It is highly significant that ancient sages like Baudhāyana and Āpastamba do not speak highly of the saṅyāsa stage, because they considered it alien to their creed. This is obvious from Baudhāyana's observation that the āśramas called pravrajyā, etc., were introduced by an Asura called Kapila, the son of Prahlāda, who was not on good terms with the gods.[8] Again, Baudhāyana refutes the jñānavāda, salvation by knowledge, by quoting passages from well-known Vedic sources.[9] Gautama and Āpastamba both hold that the life of the householder is superior to all other stages.[10] So the authors of the Dharmasūtras, to speak in philosophical terms, were advocates of a synthesis between Jñāna and Karma as a means of salvation. From this it has been

1. III, 5,1; IV, 4,22.
2. II, 23,1.
3. IV, 3,22.
4. IV, 4,22; *Etam eva viditvā munir bhavati.*
5. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects.*
6. *Life in Ancient India.*
7. Max Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 236.
8. Dharmasūtra, II, 6,30.
9. *Ibid.*, II, 6,33-36.
10. Gautama, III, 36; Āpastamba, II, 23,24.

deduced that the two stages, Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa, originated among non-Brāhmaṇa thinkers and were subsequently incorporated with the Āśramic theory of the Brāhmaṇas. In spite of their predilections for the life of the householder, Gautama and other sages never hesitated to describe in elaborate detail the rules of conduct required of hermits.[1] We may therefore venture to say with Max Müller that the three or four stages of life were already well known before the rise of Buddhism,[2] though probably not in rigid form.

As already stated, when the Buddha appeared on the scene he discovered to his dismay that the spiritual and intellectual life of the community was under the sway of a small number of Brāhmaṇas. This made him undertake the life-long mission of throwing open to all communities the privilege of renunciation or pravrajyā. He invited people to join his religious order, irrespective of whether or not they underwent preliminary conditions such as upanayana, initiation in Vedic studies, as prescribed for the Brāhmaṇas, thereby widening the scope of the religious life called Brahmacarya. According to Brahmanical traditions one can take to the life of renunciation only after being a householder or a forest-dweller. A student of the Vedas cannot enter it directly, although he may choose to be a devout bachelor and remain for life with his teacher, Naiṣṭhika.[3] The Buddha rebelled against all such restrictions and limitations. For him no one needed to go through such preliminaries, and any one who had faith in his ideal of the Dharma was entitled to admission into his Order. There is a tradition among the Brāhmaṇas also that an individual can take to renunciation when he considers himself fit for it.[4] It is

1. Gautama, III, 2-26; Baudhāyana, II, 6,15-10,70; Āpastamba, II, 21, 1-23,5.

2. *Six Systems*, p. 236; Richard Fick says that the Vānaprastha stage is well known to Brāhmaṇas and was introduced into the life of the Buddhist Order; see Social Organisation, etc., Eng. trans. p. 61. The Vānaprastha is known to the Aṅguttara, III, 219.

3. Chāndogya, II, 23,1.

4. See Haradatta's Commentary on Āpastamba, Dhar. II, 21,8.

possible that this tradition was introduced under Buddhist influence. It is to be noted, however, that the Buddha made no distinction whatsoever between the holy life of Brahmacarya, undertaken by a Vedic student after finishing his studies, and that undertaken by a householder.[1]

The Buddha and his mission were concerned primarily with only one stage of life, pravrajyā. There were, of course, upāsakas to support his community of monks, but they did not originally belong to the Order. The formation of a lay community need not be a pre-condition for the formation of a body of recluses. The householders in ancient India welcomed every ascetic wanting alms and clothing, hence the Buddhist monks had no difficulty in meeting their requirements. In the lay world, there was no sharp distinction between the Buddha's regular upāsaka and the non-upāsaka. The lay disciple, in order to become one, did not have to alter his status in the social order; all that he was required to do was to take refuge in the Buddha. Almost all the brāhmaṇas who spoke to the Buddha became his upāsakas. This did not mean that their social rank changed thereby or that they gave up their Brahmanical traditions and customs.[2] In other words, there was no incongruity in one's becoming an upāsaka and at the same time maintaining one's customary family duties, religious and social, provided they did not offend the obligatory rules, non-killing, etc. This state of affairs could be corroborated by the prevalent customs in Buddhist countries in the olden days. In Burma, for example, all the Court rituals of the Pagan dynasty were deeply tinged with Brahmanical religious practices and the gods Nārāyaṇa, Ganeśa and Brahmā were held in honour.[3]

The Buddhist lay community, as a class, was created only a hundred years after the passing of the Buddha, probably by the Mahāsaṅghikas. The fundamental conditions to be fulfilled by a lay disciple were that he had to (1) take

1. Aṅguttara III, pp. 223-30.
2. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 382-3,162, n. 1.
3. N. R. Roy, *Buddhism in Burma*, p. 148.

refuge in the three gems of Buddhism, (2) take five moral vows that were binding on the upāsakas, and (3) listen to the preaching on the Uposatha days on which eight moral vows were observed.[1] The lay disciple could enter the Order whenever he wished. He was at liberty to return to secular life as soon as he felt that he was unsuited to monastic life. The Buddha never made it obligatory for the members of the Order to embrace the mendicant's life for ever as we find in the Āśramic system of the Brāhmaṇas.

Mahāyānism and the Bhakti Cult

Buddhism, as appears from the Pali Nikāyas, is a system founded entirely on ethical principles. It has no room for theism or a theistic way of life. In other words, the Buddha never entertained the idea of God as ruling over the destiny of mankind. Nor did he think much of prayer and worship (āyācanā, prārthana) as conceived by the Brāhmaṇas.[2] Man's salvation, according to him, lay not in prayer and worship but in his own right efforts and wisdom. This aspect of the Buddha's teaching may be called salvation through works.[3]

When, however, we examine Buddhist literature three or four centuries later we find that Buddhism had assumed a form which had developed features quite alien to its original concepts. Mahāyāna Buddhism turned the human Buddha, Śākyamuni, into an eternal and supreme deity presiding over the world, ready to grant boons to his devotees. The historical Buddha is only an emanation sent down by the Ādibuddha to preach the Dharma and save mankind from its ills. People now began to pray and worship him in order to please him so that he might guide them to salvation. Buddhism thus became a Buddha cult in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Gaṇḍavyūha and other Mahāyāna sūtras. Now salvation depended on devotion and fervent prayer. In the original Buddhism the Buddha nowhere taught that the wor-

1. N. Dutt, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VII, pp. 668 ff.
2. Dīgha, I, 244-45 ; Saṃyutta, IV, 312-14.
3. McGovern, *Mahāyāna*, p. 103.

ship of his person would be useful in any way. What he advised his disciples on the eve of his passing was that they should act and behave strictly in accord with the Dharma and ethical principles and that such conduct would be more worthy of him than ostentatious adoration.[1] It may therefore be assumed that the evolution of the original atheistic Buddhism into theistic Mahāyānism was a result of the religious fervour of its adherents under the dominating influence of theistic Hinduism through the centuries.[2] Mahāyāna became popular and powerful owing to its devotional aspect and perhaps to its tendency to follow many Hindu and possibly Persian ideas, and it succeeded in greatly overshadowing its rival, Hīnayānism, although the latter continued to exist as long as Buddhism remained in India.[3]

Another important feature to be noticed in Mahāyāna is that its adherents, the Bodhisattvas, are enjoined to perform good deeds and pass the merit earned thereby on to all sentient beings in order to awaken their Bodhi hearts. The Hindu doctrine of the dedication of action to God as taught by the Gītā supplies an obvious parallelism. We come across a similar theory prevalent among the Roman Catholic Christians which is known as the doctrine of supererogatory acts.[4] Some people believe that the Buddhist practice of dedicating merit to others has influenced the Gītā's teaching that action should be dedicated to God, but how the Buddhist practice of dedicating merit came into vogue is obscure. There is no mention of this practice in the Nikāyas. It is likely that when the idea of service to others (parārthatva) was emphasized in Mahāyāna Buddhism, the practice was introduced as a token of the spirit of self-abnegation and detachment. The spirit of self-surrender is also a natural

1. Dīgha, II, 138 ; Therīgāthā, verse 161.

2. R. Kimura, *Hīnayana and Mahāyāna*, etc., p. 43; S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 583.

3. McGovern, *Mahāyāna*, p. 183.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

corollary of the Vāsudeva-bhakti cult which dates back at least to 400 B.C.[1]

Advaitism

Mahāyāna Buddhism gave rise to two main schools of philosophy, *viz.*, the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra. The Mādhyama philosophy was systematized by Nāgārjuna, one of the greatest thinkers of India. The Buddha followed a moderate path avoiding the two extremes—indulgence in sensual pleasures and the habitual practice of self-mortification. When an attempt was made to interpret and discover the true import of that path, Nāgārjuna came forward with his own interpretation and called it Mādhyamika, or moderate. The central idea in his philosophy is prajñā, wisdom, or ultimate knowledge derived from an understanding of the nature of things in their true perspective, *viz.*, śūnyatā. Śūnyatā for him is a synonym for "dependent origination". So the dictum: "everything is void" (*sarvaṃ śūnyaṃ*) must be taken to mean that everything has a dependent origination and is hence non-substantial (niḥsvabhāva). Here "everything" stands for all things, dharmas internal and external. So everything for him is devoid of any substantiality and becomes illusory. When this is realized the dharmadhātu, or the monistic cosmic element, becomes manifest.

Another fundamental principle in his philosophy is Ajātivāda, the non-origination theory. Things declared non-substantial, śūnya, also bring home to us by implication the idea that they are unoriginated and undestroyed. Nāgārjuna takes great pains to expound the non-origination theory in his works, such as the Mādhyamika-śāstra. His method of exposition and logic were so convincing that even those who belonged to the opposite camp were tempted to adapt them to their own theories.

To quote one example, Gauḍapāda, a great exponent of Advaitism, was influenced considerably by Nāgārjuna's

1. *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 13.

method of argument. The external world, for both the Mādhyamikas and Advaitins, is unreal. The arguments advanced by Nāgārjuna were also adopted by Gauḍapāda in so far as they supported his propositions. The formulation of the non-origination theory by Nāgārjuna is a logical corollary of his doctrine of relativity (śūnyatā). The non-origination theory, as applied to the phenomenal world, was unknown in Advaitism before Gauḍapāda. The Upaniṣads speak several times of the Ātman and Brahman as unborn (aja), imperishable (avyaya) and eternal (nitya), but nowhere do they speak thus of the external world. Nor do we find anybody before Gauḍapāda in the galaxy of Advaitins who pleaded for the non-origination of things in general as did Gauḍapāda in his Kārikās. Therefore there is no denying the fact that Gauḍapāda must have taken the idea from Nāgārjuna and adapted it suitably to provide the Advaita doctrine with a firm foundation.[1]

The second important Mahāyāna school is that of the Yogācāras, who were adherents of mentalism. They do not make any undue claims for the non-origination theory notwithstanding the fact that they too hold the world to be unreal. Thus both the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools maintain the māyā-like nature of the world. The Advaitins, likewise, adhere to the Māyā doctrine in order to sustain their belief in Advaitism. A great champion of the Advaita school, Śaṅkarācārya, took this weapon of the illusion theory and used it against his rival realists, the Naiyāyikas and the Vaiśeṣikas, and on this account was called a crypto Buddhist (pracchannabauddha). Śaṅkara's stand in advocating the unreality of the world, however, is logical and independent, for according to the Upaniṣads there existed previously only the Brahman or Ātman, and things other than that were unreal and diseased (ārtaṃ).[2] Such a declaration makes it obvious that nothing but the Brahman or Ātman is real. The question arises, what was the source

1. More details in *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 668.
2. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, III, 5,1.

of Śaṅkara's doctrine of Māyā? The Mahāyāna Buddhists who immediately preceded him are the most likely source. On the other hand, it is possible that it was the Ṣaṣṭitantra, the renowned treatise on the Sāṅkhya philosophy. It is said that the Ṣaṣṭitantra contains a statement to the effect that "the ultimate and real nature of the guṇas, the Sāṅkhyan forces, is invisible; and what is visible to us is fairly false like an illusory object, māyā."[1] Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the earlier Buddhist Nikāyas make no mention whatever of the Māyā doctrine.

There is another matter in which Buddhist ideas are traceable. The division of action, karma, into physical, vocal and mental, is universal. A further division of each of the above varies with each school of thought. The Buddhists classify physical and mental acts into three and vocal into four. The three physical acts are killing, stealing and adultery; the four vocal acts are lying (mṛṣāvāda), malicious speech (piśunavācā), harsh speech (paruṣavācā), frivolous talk (sambhinnapralāpa), while the three mental acts are covetousness (abhidhyā), malevolence (vyāpāda) and wrong view (mithyādṛṣṭi). These acts constitute ten unmeritorious actions and their converse ten meritorious actions. A similar tenfold division of action is also mentioned in the Bhāṣya on the Nyāya-sūtra, (1,1,17) and commented on in the Vārtika of Udyotakara. The Vārtika

1. *Guṇānāṃ paramaṃ rūpaṃ*, etc., in the Vyāsabhāṣya on the Yoga-sūtra, VI, 13: *Tathā cā nuśāsanaṃ*. Vācaspati remarks: *Atra eva Ṣaṣṭitantrasyā nuśiṣṭiḥ*. The term māyā has two meanings : (1) prakṛti, and (2) illusion or illusory object. Māyā in the former sense is common to the Upaniṣads and the Gītā, and in the latter sense is peculiar to the Buddhists and the Advaitins.

It is to be added here that Vācaspati attributes this verse to Vārṣagaṇya (Bhāmatī, II, 1,2,3). As J. H. Woods has pointed out (*Yogasūtra*), the verse must have been originally from the Ṣaṣṭitantra of Pañcaśikha. Moreover, the antiquity of the Vārṣagaṇya school and their text-book has been proved by E. H. Johnston and it has been reasonably demonstrated that the text-book of the Vārṣagaṇya school must have been in existence long before the poet Aśvaghoṣa, 50 B.C.—50 A.D. (See Buddhacarita, II, Introduction, xlvi, lvi.)

discusses ten meritorious acts as follows: protection (paritrāṇaṃ), service (paricaraṇaṃ), and charity (dānaṃ), which three acts are physical; truthfulness (satyaṃ), benevolence (hitaṃ), kindness (priyaṃ), and Vedic study (svādhyāya) which four are vocal acts; while mercy (dayā), love (spṛhā), and faith (śraddhā) are three mental acts. So apparently the Naiyāyikas, although they accepted the tenfold division of the good act, explain it positively and not merely as the reverse of the bad act as the Buddhists do. The Bhagavadgītā which divides the good acts into three under threefold penance (tapas) says: "Paying reverence to gods, brāhmaṇas, preceptors and men of knowledge; cleanliness, straightforwardness, life as Brahmacārin, and harmlessness, this is called bodily penance. The speech which causes no disgust, which is true, agreeable, and beneficial, and the study of the Vedas, this is the vocal penance. Calmness of mind, mildness, taciturnity, self-restraint and purity of heart, this is called mental penance."[1] Thus the Gītā seems not to have been influenced by Buddhistic ideas.

When we look into Chapter XII of Manu's Book of Law, we are struck by the close affinity between its ideas and terminology and those of Buddhism. The Book of Law, while explaining the ten varieties of the unmeritorious act, says: "Coveting the property of others, evil thought and vain attachment are the three acts of the mind: harsh words, false speech, malicious talk, and frivolous talk are four acts of the tongue; stealing, killing, and intercourse with another man's wife are three acts of the body." Again in verse 10, the definition of tri-daṇḍin, the mendicant with the triple staff, is given in true Buddhist fashion. The person who has been able to bring under control all the three violences (dandas)[2], vocal, mental and physical, is called the tri-daṇḍin. This fact is ample evidence of how Buddhism and Buddhist ideas influenced ancient Hindu writers. Such cases of the

1. Gītā, XVII, 14-16; S.B.E., VIII, p. 119.

2. The term 'daṇḍa' in this particular sense is characteristic of the Buddhists and the Jainas; See Majjhima I, p. 372 f.

borrowing of ideas can be multiplied.[1]

The Buddha as an Avatāra

The idea that the Supreme Spirit manifests itself in various forms developed into the conception of one god who could be identified with all the other gods. This led to the theory of Incarnation, Avatāra, which exercised considerable influence on later Hinduism.[2] An Avatāra is the god incarnated who acts like a human being but has the miraculous powers of the god. Many Avatāras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. In the Harivaṃśa, for instance, the Buddha is not included among the Avatāras, but is considered to be one in the Varāhapurāṇa, the Agnipurāṇa and the later Purāṇas. In any case the Buddha must already have become an Avatāra of Viṣṇu before the time of Gauḍapāda[3] (circa 725 A.D.), as can be surmised from the way Gauḍapāda paid homage to his favourite god. In his benedictory verse he uses certain epithets which suggest that the Buddha is the object of his adoration. This can be the only explanation, for Gauḍapāda was a staunch Advaitin.

Once the Buddha had been raised to the status of an Incarnate Being, his followers gave him all the honours due to a Hindu Incarnate God. They began to worship the image of the Buddha for the same reasons as the Hindus, namely, to stimulate feeling and meditation. It is now the generally accepted view that the worship of idols among the Hindus is as old as Pāṇini (500—450 B.C.). But such worship among the Buddhists could not have been as old; for the Buddha never approved of the idea of installing his image for worship save in stūpas or similar monuments. Even in such a late work as the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, the Buddha exhorts his disciples only to erect stūpas or caityas,

1. *E.g.*, the verse : *kāmajānāsi temūlam*, etc., is cited in the Gītābhaṣya of Śaṅkara, VI, 4, and is also found in the Udānavarga, II, 1. There are several other verses that may be traced in the Mahābhārata and Buddhist works.

2. *Vaiṣṇavism*, pp. 2, 41, 42.

3. According to Principal R. D. Karmarkar, his date is about 500 A.D.

but that the Buddhists in ancient India must have widely worshipped the Buddha's idol becomes clear from the recent finds of images in different parts of India. Today, in Ceylon, Burma, China and other Buddhist countries, people worship the Buddha's image in the same fashion as the Hindus do in India, by offering flowers, food, cloth, incense and prayers. In Ceylon, the last act in the making of an image is the painting of the eyes, a magical rite as in India. In Burma, the image is endowed with life in a ceremony called prāṇapratiṣṭhā, the giving of life. In China also, a similar rite is observed by which the image is vivified into godship.[1]

Social Reform

From the time the Buddhist upāsakas were recognized as regular members of the Buddhist community, the rigid observance of caste rules was slackened amongst them as among the monks. This change had a far reaching effect on the Hindus. Some liberal thinkers among them, in fact, began to devote their attention to the problem of social reform with a view to improving the mutual relations of the different communities within the Hindu fold. Some began to attack vehemently the rigidities and the oppressiveness of the caste system. A Tamil writer, Kapilar by name (about 1100 A.D.), subjected it to very severe criticism. Vemana, a Telugu writer, and Basava, a Kanareṣe reformer, both organized movements in opposition to caste observances. The latter especially formed a Vīraśaiva sect known as the Lingayats which completely disregarded the superiority and the privileged position of the Brāhmaṇas in society. The later Vaiṣṇavites, in particular the adherents of the Rāmānuja sect, realized the need for relaxing caste observances in religious festivals and worship in the temples.[2] They accepted in their Order people from all communities and

1. See. J. N. Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 323.

2. One can witness this fact in the temple of Jagannath at Puri and in other Vaiṣṇava temples.

were thus able to spread Vaiṣṇavism among the masses. Similar ideas were advocated by later religious leaders among whom the poet Kabir, Guru Nanak and others figured most prominently. The fire was kept alive until modern reformers started an organized crusade for the complete abolition of caste distinctions. It will now be evident how sagacious and far-sighted the Buddha was in his declaration that religious life, as he saw it, must be open to people of all classes.

Vegetarianism

The Buddha did not feel justified in prescribing a vegetarian diet for his disciples among the monks. What he did was to advise them to avoid eating meat because animals had to be slaughtered only to feed them. Clearly, he could not possibly have insisted that his lay disciples should adhere to a vegetarian diet.

It was Aśoka who proclaimed throughout the length and breadth of his vast empire the sanctity of animal life and vigorously pursued his sacred mission to induce people to abstain from killing animals wastefully and on religious grounds. This must strongly have influenced the Buddhist community itself which then comprised both lay members and monks. It is likely that after Aśoka some reformed Hindus and Jainas took up the cause and roused sympathy in favour of the Aśokan mission, thereby perhaps finally bringing about the absolute prohibition of meat eating by the Buddhist Church itself as has been recorded in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra. Furthermore, three to four centuries later there appeared on the scene King Harṣa Vardhana. No sooner did he ascend the throne than he issued a royal decree to the effect that no one in his dominion was to eat flesh. Another factor which accelerated the adoption of vegetarianism was a later phase of the Bhakti cult preached and practised by the great Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva saints. They were devout believers in the doctrine that God was in everything and everything in God so that they feared even to

tread the grass violently. The Mahāyāna Buddhist saints also disparaged the cruel habit of slaughtering innocent creatures solely in order to feed one's own body, for they believed that their own lives were worth living only in so far as they fulfilled the wishes of other beings. Vegetarian diet has come to stay in India, largely because of the constant preaching and practice of these saints.

To sum up, in the words of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan[1], Buddhism has left a permanent mark on the culture of India. Its influence is visible on all sides. The Hindu faith has absorbed the best of its ethics. A new respect for life, kindness to animals, a sense of responsibility and an endeavour after higher life have been brought home to the Indian mind with renewed force. Thanks to Buddhist influences, the Brahmanical systems have shed those parts of their religion which were irreconcilable with humanity and reason.[2]

PRINCIPLES OF TANTRIC BUDDHISM

Introductory

The general name of Tāntric Buddhism is given to the later aspects of Buddhism in India, *i.e.*, to Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna or Sahajayāna. The importance given by the Yogācāra school to vijñāna and its cultivation gradually led to several esoteric developments in Buddhism. Mantras, dharaṇīs, and diagrams in the form of circles (maṇḍalas) and triangles began to assume increasing importance for a yogin. These mantras were supposed to possess great magical powers and have their counterparts in the parittas in Pali literature, which were supposed to protect the reciters

1. *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 608 f.
2. In a later Hindu work, the following are also prohibited :
   (1) the killing of cows for sacrifices;
   (2) the killing of horses;
   (3) self-torturing austerities;
   (4) the use of flesh in the sacrificial feasts in the name of ancestors; and
   (5) marrying the widow of a deceased brother.

against all evil. Once the esoteric element was introduced into Buddhism, it was found necessary to restrict that element to a small inner group of "initiates", and in order to maintain continuity it was also necessary to introduce the institution of Master and Pupil (Guru and Cela).

In order to preserve its secret nature, they also had to use a language of symbolism which only the "initiates" could understand. To the common people the words carried an altogether different meaning. Unfortunately, a language of double interpretation was used by the writers of this school, as a sort of 'shock-therapy'. The apparent meaning of these words gave a shock to common people, but to the "initiates" they carried an altogether different meaning. The popular mind took these words at their face value and thus a great misunderstanding has arisen about the followers of the Tāntric school and their practices.

Another feature of this later form of Buddhism is that it believed in a large number of gods and goddesses by whose favours the devotees were expected to attain siddhi or perfection. The Buddha is often represented as sitting in the company of a large number of goddesses.

Allied to this branch of esoteric Buddhism, there is a still later phase of Vajrayāna which, apart from the original principles on which the purer or brighter side was based, became mixed up with popular cults and assumed, among the lower classes of society, a darker and objectionable form. Corrupt practices like the use of five ma-kāras, *i.e.*, words beginning with the letter 'ma', such as madya (wine), māṃsa (flesh), matsya (fish), mudrā (woman) and maithuna (sexual intercourse), were encouraged and practised even by men who were supposed to be leading a religious life. In Vajrayāna works like the Śrī-samāja (also called the Guhya-samāja), the Sādhana-mālā, the Jñāna-siddhi, etc., we find that the violation of those very five rules, which formed the basis of Buddhist Discipline, is recommended. For instance, in the Guhya-samāja[1], murder, falsehood, theft and intercourse with

1. p. 120.

women are recommended. Can the Buddha ever be imagined to have sanctioned such things?

Nevertheless, this cult gained very wide currency in the eastern parts of India. Vikramaśīlā was a centre of Tāntric learning which gradually spread to Bengal, Assam and Orissa.[1] All sane people revolted against these corrupt practices which contributed in no small measure to the decline of Buddhism. (General Editor.)

Among all the aspects of Buddhism, its Tāntric teachings have until now been the most neglected and misunderstood. The Tantras against which accusations have been hurled originated mostly from the decadent forms of late Hindu tradition and the malpractices which they gave rise to among the ignorant. The prejudice, which in this way grew against everything Tāntric, was so strong that even scholars refused to have anything to do with it, and consequently any impartial investigation or research was neglected for a long time.

The first European scholar who had the courage to rehabilitate the Tantras, especially the Hindu Tantras of the Kuṇḍalinī-Yoga, was Sir John Woodroffe, who published his famous series of works on Tāntric texts and philosophy under the pseudonym of Arthur Avalon. In his foreword to the Śrīcakrasambhāra Tantra, he says: "The ignorant . . . envisage spiritual truths so grossly that they come to be called superstition. All evil and ignorance is so much by its nature on the surface and affords so apt a subject for averse judgment that it is readily seized upon, and the more so that it is convenient material for religious polemic. Nevertheless I repeat that we must do credit both to our intelligence and sense of justice by endeavouring to understand any religion in its highest and truest aspect."[2]

1. See B. Bhattacharya, *Sādhanamālā, ii*, xxxvi-xxxix and lv; Manindra Mohan Bose, *Post-Caitanya Sahajia Cult of Bengal*, Chapter III, pp 134-42.
2. P. vii.

Even Avalon, however, was under the impression that the Buddhist Tantras were merely an off-shoot of the Hindu Tantras, and that the texts, upon which his investigations were based, represented the original principles of the Tantras. This view was justified as long as the Tibetan Tāntric scriptures were comparatively unknown and unexplored, because even those few texts which were available in translation were far from being understood in their spiritual, historical, and practical significance.

The reason for this was the fact that these scriptures cannot be understood merely philologically, but only from the point of view of *yogic* experience, which cannot be learned from books. Moreover, those books, from which information was sought, were written in a peculiar idiom, a language of symbols and secret conventions, which in Sanskrit was called Saṅdhyābhāṣā (literally "twilight language", because of the double meaning which underlay its words).

This symbolic language was not only a protection against intellectual curiosity and misuse of yogic practices by the ignorant or the uninitiated, but had its origin mainly in the fact that the ordinary language is not able to express the highest experiences of the mind. The indescribable, which is experienced by the Sādhaka, the true devotee, can only be hinted at by similes and paradoxes.

We find a similar attitude in the Chinese Ch'an and the Japanese Zen Buddhism, which in fact have much in common with the mediaeval Buddhist mystics, the so-called Siddhas, who flourished in India between the seventh and the eleventh centuries A.D. and were the main propagators of the Tāntric teachings of the Vajrayāna. Their numerous mystic and poetical works were almost completely destroyed in the country of their origin when northern India was overrun by the Muslim invaders. Fortunately, a great many of their works, as well as the bulk of Tāntric literature that had developed up to that time, have been preserved in Tibet in faithful translations, together with the living tradition of yogic and meditative practice, which was handed down through

generations from Guru to Cela.

In India, however, the Tāntric tradition went "underground" and lingered mainly in the lower strata of society, where it became mixed up with various popular cults and finally deteriorated into superstition, which discredited both the Buddhist and the genuine Hindu Tantras. These latter were built upon ancient yoga practices which apparently had been remoulded under the influence of Tāntric Buddhism.

The influence of Tāntric Buddhism upon Hinduism was so profound, that up to the present day the majority of Western scholars labour under the impression that Tantrism is a Hinduistic creation which was taken over later by more or less decadent Buddhist schools.

Against this view speaks the great antiquity and consistent development of Tāntric tendencies in Buddhism. Already the early Mahāsaṅghikas had a special collection of māntric formulas in their Dhāraṇī-pitaka; and the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, which according to some authorities goes back to the first century A.D., contains not only mantras and dhāraṇīs, but numerous maṇḍalas and mudrās as well. Even if the dating of the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa is somewhat uncertain, it seems probable that the Buddhist Tāntric system had crystallized into a definite form by the end of the third century A.D., as we see from the well-known Guhya-samāja (Tib. dpal-gsang-hdus-pa) Tantra.

To declare Buddhist Tantrism as an off-shoot of Śaivaism is only possible for those who have no first-hand knowledge of Tāntric literature. A comparison of the Hindu Tantras with those of Buddhism (which are mostly preserved in Tibetan and which therefore for long remained unnoticed by Indologists) not only shows an astonishing divergence of methods and aims, in spite of external similarities, but proves the spiritual and historical priority and originality of the Buddhist Tantras.

Śankarācārya, the great Hindu philosopher of the 9th century A.D., whose works form the foundation of all Śaivaite philosophy, made use of the ideas of Nāgārjuna and his fol-

lowers to such an extent that orthodox Hindus suspected him of being a secret devotee of Buddhism. In a similar way the Hindu Tantras, too, took over the methods and principles of Buddhist Tantrism and adapted them to their own purposes (much as the Buddhists had adapted the age-old principles and techniques of yoga to their own systems of meditation). This view is not only held by Tibetan tradition and confirmed by a study of its literature, but has also been verified by Indian scholars after a critical investigation of the earliest Sanskrit texts of Tāntric Buddhism and their historical and ideological relationship with the Hindu Tantras.

Thus Benoytosh Bhattacharya, in his *Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism,* has come to the conclusion that "it is possible to declare, without fear of contradiction, that the Buddhists were the first to introduce the Tantras into their religion, and that the Hindus borrowed them from the Buddhists in later times, and that it is idle to say that later Buddhism was an outcome of Śaivaism".[1]

One of the main propagators of this mistaken idea, which was built upon the superficial similarities of Hindu and Buddhist Tantras, was Austin Waddell who is often quoted as an authority on Tibetan Buddhism. In his estimation Buddhist Tantrism is nothing but Śaivaite idolatry, Śakti worship and demonology. Its "so-called mantras and dhāraṇīs" are "meaningless gibberish," "its mysticism a silly mummery of unmeaning jargon and 'magic circles' ", and its yoga a "parasite whose monster outgrowth crushed and cankered most of the little life of purely Buddhist stock yet left in the Mahāyāna"[2]. "The Mādhyamika doctrine was essentially a sophistic nihilism",[3] "the Kāla-cakra unworthy of being considered a philosophy"[4].

As it was mainly from such 'authorities' that the West received its first knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism, it is no won-

1. P. 147.
2. *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, p. 14.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

der that up to the present day numerous prejudices against Buddhist Tantrism are firmly entrenched in the Western mind as well as in the minds of those who have approached the subject through Western literature.

To judge Buddhist Tāntric teachings and symbols from the standpoint of Hindu Tantras, and especially from the principles of Śaktism is not only inadequate but thoroughly misleading, because both systems start from entirely different premises. Although both make use of the methods of yoga and of similar technical and philosophical terms, there is little justification for declaring Buddhism to be identical with Brahmanism and therefore in interpreting the Buddhist Tantras in the light of the Hindu Tantras, or vice versa.

Nobody would accuse the Buddha of corrupting his doctrine by accepting the gods of Hindu mythology as a background for his teachings or by using them as symbols of certain forces or meditative experiences or as the exponents of higher states of consciousness; if the Tantras, however, follow a similar course, they are accused of being corrupters of genuine Buddhism.

It is impossible to understand any religious movement unless we approach it in a spirit of humility and reverence, which is the hall-mark of all great scholars and pioneers of learning. We therefore have to see the various forms of expression in their genetic connections and against the spiritual background from which they developed into their particular systems before we start comparing them with similar features in other systems. In fact, the very things which appear similar on the surface are very often just those in which the systems differ most fundamentally. The step that leads upwards in one connection may well lead downwards in another one. Therefore, philological derivations and iconographical comparisons, valuable though they may be in other respects, are not adequate here.

We completely agree with Bhattacharya when he says: "The Buddhist Tantras in outward appearance resemble the Hindu Tantras to a marked degree but in reality there is very

little similarity between them, either in subject matter or in philosophical doctrines inculcated in them, or in religious principles. This is not to be wondered at, since the aims and objects of the Buddhists are widely different from those of the Hindus."[1]

The main difference is that Buddhist Tantrism is not Śaktism. The concept of Śakti, of divine power, of the creative female aspect of the highest God (Śiva) or his emanations does not play any role in Buddhism, while in the Hindu Tantras, the concept of power (Śakti) forms the focus of interest. The central idea of Tāntric Buddhism, however, is prajñā (knowledge, wisdom).

To the Buddhist, Śakti is māyā, the very power that creates illusion, from which only prajñā can liberate us. It is, therefore, not the aim of the Buddhist to acquire power, or to join himself to the powers of the universe, either to become their instrument or to become their master, but, on the contrary, he tries to free himself from those powers, which for aeons kept him a prisoner of saṃsāra. He strives to perceive those powers, which have kept him going in the rounds of life and death, in order to liberate himself from their dominion. However, he does not try to negate them or to destroy them, but to transform them in the fire of knowledge, so that they may become forces of enlightenment which, instead of creating further differentiation, flow in the opposite direction: towards union, towards wholeness, towards completeness.

The attitude of the Hindu Tantras is quite different, if not contrary. "United with the Śakti, be full of power", says the Kula-cūḍāmaṇi Tantra. "From the union of Śiva and Śakti the world is created." The Buddhist, on the other hand, does not want the creation and unfoldment of the world, but the coming back to the "uncreated, unformed" state of śūnyatā, from which all creation proceeds, or which is prior to and beyond all creation (if one may put the inexpressible into human language).

1. *Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 47.

The becoming conscious of this śūnyatā (Tib. stong-pa-nyid) is prajñā (Tib. shes-rab), or highest knowledge. The realization of this highest knowledge in life is enlightenment (bodhi; Tib. byang-chhub), *i.e.*, if prajñā (or śūnyatā), the passive, all embracing female principle, from which everything proceeds and into which everything recedes, is united with the dynamic male principle of active universal love and compassion, which represents the means (upāya; Tib. thabs) for the realization of prajñā and śūnyatā, then perfect Buddhahood is attained. Intellect without feeling, knowledge without love, and reason without compassion lead to pure negation, to rigidity, to spiritual death, to mere vacuity, while feeling without reason, love without knowledge (blind love), compassion without understanding, lead to confusion and dissolution; but where both are united, where the great synthesis of heart and head, feeling and intellect, highest love and deepest knowledge have taken place, completeness is re-established, and perfect enlightenment is attained.

The process of enlightenment is therefore represented by the most obvious, the most human and at the same time the most universal symbol imaginable: the union of male and female in the ecstacy of love, in which the active element (upāya) is represented as a male, the passive (prajñā) by a female figure, in contrast to the Hindu Tantras, in which the female aspect is represented as Śakti, *i.e.*, the active principle, and the male aspect as Śiva, the pure state of divine consciousness or 'being', *i.e.*, the passive principle, or the 'resting in its own nature'.

In Buddhist symbolism, the Knower (Buddha) becomes one with his knowledge (prajñā), just as man and wife become one in the embrace of love, and this becoming one is the highest indescribable happiness, mahāsukha (Tib. bde-mchhog). The Dhyānī Buddhas (*i.e.*, the ideal Buddhas visualized in meditation) and the Dhyānī Bodhisattvas, as embodiments of the active urge of enlightenment which finds its expression in upāya, the all-embracing love and compassion, are therefore represented in the embrace of their prajñā,

symbolized by a female deity, the embodiment of highest knowledge.

This is not the arbitrary reversal of Hindu symbology, in which "the poles of the male and the female as symbols of the divine and its unfoldment have to be exchanged apparently, as otherwise the gender of the concepts which they were intended to embody in Buddhism would not have been in harmony with them"[1], but the consequent application of a principle which is of fundamental importance for the entire Buddhist Tāntric system.

In a similar way the Hindu Tantras are an equally consistent application of the fundamental ideas of Hinduism, even though they have taken over Buddhist methods wherever they suited their purpose. But the same method, when applied from two opposite standpoints, must necessarily lead to opposite results. There is no need to resort to such superficial reasons as the necessity to comply with the grammatical gender of prajñā (feminine) and upāya (masculine).

Such reasoning, however, was only the consequence of the wrong presupposition that the Buddhist Tantras were an imitation of the Hindu Tantras, and the sooner we can free ourselves from this prejudice, the clearer it will become that the concept of Śakti has no place in Buddhism.

Just as the Theravādin would be shocked if the term anattā (Skt. anātman) were turned into its opposite and were rendered by the Brahmanical term ātman or were explained in such a way as to show that the Theravādin accepted the ātman idea (since Buddhism was only a variation of Brahmanism!), so the Tibetan Buddhist would be shocked by the misinterpretation of his religious tradition by the Hindu term śakti, which is never used in his scriptures and which means exactly the opposite of what he wants to express by the term prajñā or by the female counterparts of the Dhyāni Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

One cannot arbitrarily transplant the termini of a theistic system, centred round the idea of a God Creator, into a non-

1. H. Zimmer, *Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild*, p. 75.

theistic system which emphatically and fundamentally denies the notion of a God Creator. From such a confusion of terminology arises the mistaken idea that the Ādibuddha of the later Tantras is nothing but another version of the God Creator, which would be a complete reversal of the Buddhist point of view. The Ādibuddha, however, is the symbol of the universality, timelessness and completeness of the enlightened mind, or as Guenther puts it more forcefully: "The statement that the universe or man is the Ādibuddha is but an inadequate verbalization of an all-comprehensive experience. The Ādibuddha is assuredly not a God who plays dice with the world in order to pass away his time. He is not a sort of monotheism either superimposed on an earlier, allegedly atheistic Buddhism. Such notions are the errors of professional semanticists. Buddhism has no taste for theorization. It attempts to delve into the secret depths of our inmost being and to make the hidden light shine forth brilliantly. Therefore the Ādibuddha is best translated as the unfolding of man's true nature."[1]

By confusing Buddhist Tantrism with the Śaktism of the Hindu Tantras, a basic misconception has been created, which up to the present day has prevented a clear understanding of the Vajrayāna and its symbolism, in iconography as well as in literature, especially that of the Siddhas. The latter used a particular form of symbology, in which very often the highest was clothed in the form of the lowest, the most sacred in the form of the most ordinary, the transcendent in the form of the most earthly, and deepest knowledge in the form of the most grotesque paradoxes. It was not only a language for initiates, but a kind of shock therapy, which has become necessary on account of the over-intellectualization of the religious and philosophical life of those times.

Just as the Buddha rebelled against the narrow dogmatism of a privileged priestly class, so did the Siddhas rebel against

1. *Yuganaddha, the Tantric View of Life,* H. V. Guenther (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras 1952), p. 187.

the self-complacency of a sheltered monastic existence that had lost contact with the realities of life. Their language was as unconventional as their lives, and those who took their words literally were either misled into striving after magic powers and worldly happiness or were repelled by what appeared to them to be blasphemy. It is therefore not surprising that after the disappearance of the Buddhist tradition in India, this literature fell into oblivion or degenerated into the crude erotic cults of popular Tantrism.

Nothing could be more misleading than to draw inferences about the spiritual attitude of the Buddhist Tantras (or of genuine Hindu Tantras) from these degenerated forms of Tantrism. The former cannot be fathomed theoretically, *i.e.*, through comparisons or the study of ancient literature, but only through practical experience or actual contact with the still existing Tāntric traditions and their contemplative methods, as practised in Tibet and Mongolia, as well as in certain schools of Japan, like the Shingon and the Tendai. With regard to the latter two, Glasenapp remarks: "The female Bodhisattvas figuring in the maṇḍalas, like Prajñāpāramitā and Cuṇḍi, are sexless beings from whom, quite in accordance with the ancient tradition, associations of a sexual nature are strictly excluded. In this respect these schools differ from those known to us from Bengal, Nepal and Tibet, which emphasize the polarity of the male and female principles."[1]

The fact that Bengal, Nepal, and Tibet are mentioned here side by side shows that the Tāntrism of Bengal and Nepal is regarded to be of the same nature as that of Tibet, and that the author, though seeing the necessity of distinguishing between Tantrism and Śaktism, has not yet drawn the last conclusion, namely, that even those Buddhist Tantras which built their symbolism upon the polarity of the male and the female, *never* represent the female principle as śakti, but al-

1. H. V. Glasenapp, *Die Entstehung des Vajrayāna*, Zeitschr. d. deutsch morgenländ. Gesellschaft, Vol. 90, p. 560, Leipzig, 1936.

ways as its contrary—prajñā (wisdom), vidyā (knowledge), or mudrā (the spiritual attitude of unification, the realization of śūnyatā). Herewith they reject the basic idea of Śaktism and its world-creating eroticism.

Though the polarity of male and female principles is recognized in the Tantras of the Vajrayāna and is an important feature of its symbolism, it is raised upon a plane which is as far away from the sphere of mere sexuality as the mathematical juxtaposition of positive and negative signs, which is as valid in the realm of irrational values as in that of rational or concrete concepts.

In Tibet the male and female Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are regarded as little as "sexual beings" as in the above-mentioned schools of Japan; and to the Tibetan even their aspect of union (Skt. Yuganaddha; Tib. yabyum) is indissolubly associated with the highest spiritual reality in the process of enlightenment, so that associations with the realm of physical sexuality are completely ignored.

We must not forget that the figural representations of these symbols are not looked upon as portraying human beings, but as embodying the experiences and visions of meditation. In such a state, however, there is nothing more that could be called 'sexual'; there is only the super-individual polarity of all life, which rules all mental and physical activities, and which is transcended only in the ultimate state of integration, in the realization of śūnyatā. This is the state which is called mahāmudrā (Tib. phyag-rgya-chhen-po), the "Great Attitude" or "the Great Symbol", which has given its name to one of the most important systems of meditation in Tibet.

In the earlier forms of Indian Buddhist Tantrism, Mahāmudrā was represented as the 'eternal female' principle, as may be seen from Advayavajra's definition: "The words 'great' and 'mudrā' together form the term 'mahāmudrā'. She is not something (niḥśvabhāva); she is free from the veils which cover the cognizable object and so on; she shines forth like the serene sky at noon during autumn; she is the support of all success; she is the identity of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa; her

body is compassion (karuṇā) which is not restricted to a single object; she is the uniqueness of Great Bliss (mahāsukhaikarūpa)." [1]

If in one of the most controversial passages of Anaṅgavajra's Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi[2] it is said that all women should be enjoyed by the sādhaka in order to experience the mahāmudrā, it is clear that this cannot be understood in the physical sense, but that it can only be applied to that higher form of love *which is not restricted to a single object* and which is able to see all 'female' qualities, whether in ourselves or in others as those of the Divine Mother (prajñā-pāramitā or transcendental wisdom).

Another passage, which by its very grotesqueness proves that it is meant to be a paradox and is not to be taken literally states that "the sādhaka who has sexual intercourse with his mother, his sister, his daughter, and his sister's daughter, will easily succeed in his striving for the ultimate goal (tattva-yoga)".[3]

To take expressions like 'mother', 'sister', 'daughter' or 'sister's daughter' literally in this connection is as senseless as taking literally the well-known Dhammapada verse (No. 294), which says that, after having killed father and mother and two Kṣattriya kings, and having destroyed a kingdom with all its inhabitants, the Brāhmaṇa remains free from sin. Here 'father and mother' stands for 'egoism and craving' (Pali: *asmimāna and taṇhā*), the 'two kings' for the erroneous views of annihilation or eternal existence (*uccheda va sassata-diṭṭhi*), the 'kingdom and its inhabitants' for 'the twelve spheres of consciousness' (dvādaśāyatnani) and the Brāhmaṇa for the liberated monk (bhikkhu).

To maintain that Tāntric Buddhists actually encouraged incest and licentiousness is as ridiculous as accusing the The-

1. Advayavajra, Caturmudrā, p. 34, quoted in *Yuganaddha*.

2. Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi in *Two Vajrayāna Works*, Gaikwaḍ Oriental Series, No. XLIV, p. 22.

3. Anaṅgavajra, Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi, V, 25, quoted in *Yuganaddha*, p. 106. A similar statement is found in the Guhya-samāja Tantra.

ravādins of condoning matricide and patricide and similar heinous crimes. If we only take the trouble to investigate the living tradition of the Tantras in their genuine, unadulterated forms, as they exist up to the present day in thousands of monasteries and hermitages of Tibet, where the ideals of sense-control and renunciation are held in the highest esteem, then only can we realize how ill founded and worthless are the current theories which try to drag the Tantras into the realm of sensuality.

From the point of view of the Tibetan Tāntric tradition, the above-mentioned passages can only be meaningful in the context of yoga terminology.

'All women in the world' signifies all the elements which make up the female principles of our psycho-physical personality which, as the Buddha says, represents what is called 'the world'. To these principles correspond, on the opposite side, an equal number of male principles. Four of the female principles form a special group, representing the vital forces (prāṇa) of the Great Elements (mahābhūta), Earth, Water, Fire, Air, and their corresponding psychic centres (cakra) or planes of consciousness within the human body. In each of them the union of male and female principles must take place, before the fifth and highest stage is reached. If the expressions 'mother', 'sister', 'daughter', etc., are applied to the forces of these fundamental qualities of the mahābhūtas, the meaning of the symbolism becomes clear.

In other words, instead of seeking union with a woman outside ourselves, we have to seek it within ourselves ("in our own family") by the union of our male and female nature in the process of meditation. This is clearly stated in Tilopā's famous Six Doctrines (Tib. chos drug bsdus-pahi hzin-bris), upon which the most important yoga method of the Kargyutpa school is based, a method which was practised by Milarepa, the most saintly and austere of all the great masters of meditation (whom certainly nobody could accuse of 'sexual practices'). Though we cannot here go into the details of this yoga, a short quotation may suffice to prove our point.

"The vital force of the Five Aggregates (Tib. phung-po; Skt. skandha) in its real nature, pertaineth to the masculine aspect of the Buddha-principle manifesting through the left psychic nerve (Tib. kyang-ma rtsa; Skt. iḍā-nāḍī). The vital force of the Five Elements (Tib. hbyung-ba; Skt. dhātu), in its real nature, pertaineth to the feminine aspect of the Buddha-principle manifesting through the right psychic-nerve (Tib. ro-ma rtsa; Skt. pingalā-nāḍī). As the vital force with these two aspects of it in union, descendeth into the median nerve (Tib. dbu-ma rtsa; Skt. suṣumnā) gradually there cometh the realization . . ." and one attains the transcendental boon of the Great Symbol (mahāmudrā)[1], the union of the male and female principles (as upāya and prajñā) in the highest state of Buddhahood.

Thus, only if we are able to see the relationship of body and mind, of physical and spiritual interaction in a universal perspective, and if in this way we overcome the "I" and "mine" and the whole structure of egocentric feelings, opinions, and prejudices which produce the illusion of our separate individuality, then only can we rise into the sphere of Buddhahood.

In this sense, the Buddhist Tantras are not only the legitimate heirs of the Vijñānavādins and Yogācārins, but the logical outcome and ultimate consequence of the central idea of Buddhism which consists in the Law of Dependent Origination. Though the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path form the framework of the Buddha's teachings, they are generalizations which do not constitute anything exclusively Buddhistic. The fact of suffering and the certainty that suffering can be overcome by the extinction of desire based on egoism was common ground in Indian religious thought and is taught by other religions as well. The Eightfold Path, too, reiterates what every Indian devotee believes, and what may be regarded as common ground of all religious-minded people, irrespective of their particular faith.

But in what Buddhism distinguishes itself from all other

1 W. V. Evans-Wintz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, p. 200 ff.

religions, in what its uniqueness consists, is the idea that the world is neither governed by a God Creator nor by blind chance, but by the law of spiritual and material inter-relatedness which is neither simple causality nor metaphysical determinism, but the law of Dependent Origination (pratītya-samutpāda). This law is more than a number of rigidly fixed sequences of causes and effects, in which form it has been popularized for the convenience of those who want to see it applied to the exigencies of individual human life (or to establish the working of individual karma)—it is the idea that nothing exists in itself or by itself as a separate unit, either in time or in space, but is dependent on a variety of conditions and related to everything else in the world, so that we can neither speak of 'existence' nor of 'non-existence', neither of 'being' nor of 'not-being' with regard to any form of life.

Therefore, it is said in the Saṃyutta-nikāya, II, 17: "This world, O Kaccāna, is addicted to dualism, to the 'it is' and to the 'it is not'. He who perceives in truth and wisdom how things arise in the world, for him there is no 'it is not' in the world. And O Kaccāna, he who perceives in truth and wisdom how things in the world pass away, for him there is no 'it is' in the world."

It is from this position that the Buddha's doctrine of anātman is to be understood. Therefore, when Aśvajit was asked to sum up the Buddha's teaching in a single sentence, he did not mention the Four Noble Truths or the Eightfold Path, but the pratītya-samutpāda in its most fundamental aspect. And when again the Wheel of the Law was set in motion by Nāgārjuna, the revitalization of Buddhism was based upon the pratītya-samutpāda in the opening verse of his Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā, in which he says:

Anirodham anutpādam anucchedam aśāśvataṃ
anekārtham anānārtham anāgamam anirgamaṃ
yaḥ pratītyasamutpādam prapañcopaśamaṃ śivaṃ
deśayāmāsa sambuddhas taṃ vande vadatāṃ varaṃ

Without destruction and without origination, without being cut off and without being eternal,
Neither being one thing, nor different things, neither coming nor going,
He who can thus teach the Dependent Origination, the blissful coming to rest of all illusory unfoldment,
Before Him, the Enlightened One, the best of all teachers,
I reverently bow down.

The term prapañca, 'illusory unfoldment or differentiation' (or 'conceptually differentiated reality'), is a synonym for māyā, the illusion caused by the blind world-creating power (śakti). It is this power that leads us deeper and deeper into the realm of becoming, of birth and death, of matter and differentiation, unless it is countered or reversed by prajñā, or wisdom born of profound insight into the nature of the world, through insight into ourselves and the realization of enlightenment within our own mind, because the nature of the world is not different from our own nature. The inner and outer world are only the two sides of the same fabric, in which the threads of all forces and events, of all forms of consciousness and all objects are woven into one.

This idea has never been expressed more forcefully and completely than in the Buddhist Tantras. The word tantra itself is related to the concept of weaving (the dictionary gives "loom, thread, web, fabric" as synonyms), hinting at the interwovenness of things and actions, the interdependence of all that exists, the continuity in the interaction of cause and effect, as well as in traditional development, which like a thread weaves its way through the fabric of history and of individual lives. The term 'tantra' (Tib. rgyud) therefore can also stand for tradition, spiritual continuity or succession. The scriptures, however, which in Buddhism go by the title of Tantra, are invariably of a mystic nature and try to establish the inner relationship of things by way of spiritual

exercises, in which yantra, mantra, and mudrā, the parallelism of the visible, the audible, and the touchable, unite the powers of mind (citta), speech (vāk), and body (kāya), in order to realize the final state of completeness and enlightenment.[1]

Thus in applying the words of Guru Gampopa, it may be said that the Buddhist Tantras represent "a philosophy comprehensive enough to embrace the whole of knowledge, a system of meditation which will produce the power of concentrating the mind upon anything whatsoever, and an art of living which will enable one to utilize each activity (of body, speech, and mind) as an aid on the Path of Liberation".[2]

MANTRAYĀNA AND SAHAJAYĀNA

From among the many branches of Buddhism, Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna are the least known. Generally one is of the opinion that they are late developments. Mantras, however, are already found in certain passages of the old Pali Canon, as for instance, in the Āṭānāṭiya-sutta. Although it is difficult to ascertain the role of mantras in the earlier phases of Buddhism, it may safely be assumed that because of the antiquity of the mantras the essentials of Mantrayāna for a long time developed along lines parallel with the more intellectual schools of Buddhism and were systematically codified and called a yāna or 'a career' only later. Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna deal primarily with the psychologically effective aspects of spiritual development. Their instructions are of a highly individual character and their contents must be grasped with the immediacy of experience, which accounts for the difficulty these two aspects of Buddhism present to an understanding which is accustomed to comprehend things

1. The very fact that the term tantra in Hinduism is used indiscriminately for all sorts of literature, while in Buddhism it is exclusively applied to works representing tāntric principles, is another proof of the priority of the Buddhist Tantras.

2. From *The Twelve Indispensable Things* by Guru Gampopa. *Cf.* Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, p. 79.

only in terms of their verbally designated relations to each other.

What then is Mantrayāna and what are its tenets? A clear account of the subject can be found in Padma-dkar-po's numerous scholarly works. From his account it is evident that Mantrayāna aims at achieving what the other branches of Buddhism also claim to deal with, namely, the integration of the human being, enlightenment or spiritual maturity. However, the methods are vastly different. While the attainment of spiritual maturity depends solely on the efforts of the individual and is in itself incommunicable, certain preliminary rites are necessary in order to facilitate the process of integration. The first step is 'taking refuge and the formation of an attitude directed toward enlightenment (bodhicitta) as a means to making the individual fit for his task'. Refuge is taken in the Three Jewels, the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha, but they are no longer concrete persons and scriptures but, it may be said, spiritual forces symbolically represented by the Three Jewels. This taking of refuge is intimately connected with the resolve to attain enlightenment for the sake of all sentient beings and this resolve furthers the change of attitude, where the aspirant consciously turns away from the directness of ordinary intellectual reasoning and begins to see himself and the world around him from an intuitive standpoint. The next step is to strengthen and to develop this new attitude and in this meditative process the recitation of mantras plays an important part 'as the means to remove the opposing conditions, the veiling power of evil'. The mantra is by definition 'a protection of mind', that is, a formula which prevents the mind from going astray and therefore a positive help in meditative concentration. It is a well-known fact that the human mind is not only influenced by the images within and without but also by words. The power of words is all the more effective when such words or even mere syllables resist any attempt to be reduced to mere concepts of intellection. Although the mantras have a definite relation to the energetic processes

they symbolize, the use of a particular mantra depends on the aspirant's personality and the spiritual discipline which suits him. It is this factor that has been most scientifically developed in Mantrayāna. After this comes the offering of a maṇḍala 'as the means to perfect the prerequisites of merits and knowledge'. Modern depth psychology has rediscovered the intrinsic value of the maṇḍala for the process of integration. Buddhism here again goes far beyond the findings of modern psychology and deals with the problem more exhaustively, in that it does not separate and isolate man from his context, this context being the whole universe and not a mere socially accepted pattern. Each step in the preparation of the maṇḍala corresponds to one of the six perfections (pāramitā), liberality, ethics, patience, strenuousness, meditative concentration, and appreciative analytical understanding. This means that the construction of a maṇḍala has a practical value since it affects the individual in his behaviour (caryā). As in the other forms of Mahayāna, Mantrayāna is strongly opposed to escapism and posits a positive aim and ideal (bodhi) against a negative one (nirodha). All this is, as it were, preparatory to the last phase, the guru-yoga, as 'the means to have the all-sustaining power of reality settled on one's self'. By the guru-yoga one realizes the indivisible unity of one's self with the ultimate reality. The guru-yoga is a most exclusive discipline and its methods are intricate. Although, in the ultimate sense, the guru is reality itself and although reality is found in everything and not in a fancied 'absolute' of dubious validity, without the help of a human guru, who himself has practised this yoga and hence is able to guide the aspirant on his difficult path, the message of Mantrayāna remains a sealed book.

Closely related to Mantrayāna is Sahajayāna. What does sahaja mean? The literal meaning is 'to be born together', but what is it that is born together? The classical answer has been given by Zla-od-gzhon-nu, alias Dvags-po-lha-rje, the most gifted disciple of the Tibetan

scholar and saint Mi-la-ras-pa. He explains that it is the ultimate in Mind or the dharmakāya and the ultimate in Appearance or the light of the dharmakāya which are born together. Appearance and Mind are therefore indivisibly born together. What he wants to say is that Reality and Appearance are not separated from each other by an unbridgeable gulf, but are identical. This identity means that Reality is one and indivisible and is split up arbitrarily into a number of opposites only by the analytical methods and techniques of the intellect. Hence, the identity of Reality and Appearance can be realized and experienced only by intuitive processes, and it is absolutely wrong and misleading to conceive of this identity as a postulationally proposed hypothesis. In order to achieve this realization, a course of meditation has been developed which is based on direct experience and takes cognizance of the fact that intellectual operations are inseparable from their emotional concomitants. The dichotomizing activity of the mind (vikalpa) is accompanied and even supported by conflicting emotions (kleśa), which has an obscuring influence (moha, andhakāra). This turbulent state of mind can be remedied by meditative practices. The quietude, which, as has to be borne in mind, is not achieved by repression but by an understanding of the psychological processes, is the first glimpse of what forms a solid basis for further spiritual development or the viewpoint from which one can safely proceed onwards. This viewpoint is technically known as 'happiness, lustre, and non-dichotomizing thought' (Tib. bde-gsal-mi-rtog., Skt. sukha-prabhāsvara-nirvikalpa). The more this line is pursued and the deeper the experience becomes, the clearer the view becomes, since, intellectually speaking, the concepts which obstruct the view by creating artificial opposites have become ineffective, and, in respect of the emotions, the conflict has been resolved. It is from this experience, and not from a futile attempt at rationalizing, that the Mahāyānic axiom of the identity of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa and of the identity of emotionality and

enlightenment assumes significance.

The very fact that what Sahajayāna teaches is no intellectual system but a strict discipline that has to be practised in order to be known makes it difficult to comprehend and to define. Moreover, Sahajayāna emphasizes the intuitive approach to Reality, and it is a fact that the function of intuition is not the same as that of the intellect and that their modes of operation are completely different. This accounts for the fact that Sahajayāna and Mantrayāna successfully evaded the fate of turning into dead systems.

Both Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna are concerned with the practical aspect of Buddhism which culminates in the four peaks of 'view based on experience' (Tib. lta-ba, Skt. dṛṣṭi), 'development of what this view offers' (Tib. sgom-pa, Skt. bhāvanā), 'to live and act accordingly' (Tib. spyod-pa, Skt. caryā), and 'the integration of the individual' (Tib. bras-bu, Skt. phala) which may be variously called 'enlightenment', 'spiritual maturity', or 'Buddhahood'.

Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna have had the greatest influence on Tibetan Buddhism and there is sufficient evidence to show that it is also the basis of Zen Buddhism. Their influence has been all the more marked, because they refer to the whole of human nature. Man is not only an intellectual being, but also an emotional one, and it is well known that the emotive meaning of anything whatsoever is of greater importance for shaping the life of an individual than the mere intellectual connotation. Thus, while all the brilliant systems of Buddhist thought, the systematized works of the Mādhyamakas, Vijñāṇavādins, Vaibhaṣikas, Sautrāntikas, and so on, are more or less of academic interest only, Mantrayāna and Sahajāyana have remained a living force to this day. The living Buddhism of Tibet, the Himalayan countries, China, and Japan has been deeply influenced by the practices of Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna, and cannot be conceived without them.

Although Mantrayāna and Sahajayāna are not schools clinging to rigidly defined tenets, as do, for instance, the

Vaibhāṣikas and Vijñānavādins, they are of the greatest importance for the living force of Buddhism—Mantrayāna with its emotionally moving and aesthetically appealing ritual, and Sahajayāna with its profound meditative practices. No wonder therefore that the most outstanding personalities of Buddhism, such as Asaṅga, Śāntideva, Tilopā, Nāropā, Maitrīpa, gSer-gliṅ-pa, Dvags-po-lha-rje and many others, have contributed to them.

CHAPTER XIV

Buddhist Studies in Recent Times

Some Eminent Buddhist Scholars

In India and Europe

According to a Buddhist tradition, the *dharmacakra-pravartana*—the Turning of the Wheel of Law—is said to have taken place three times.[1] Historically, the reference is first to the one which took place at Sarnath, the second to the resurgence of Mahāyāna and the third to the rise of the Yogācāra school of Vijñānavāda. To this can be added a fourth awakening, which may be reckoned as co-existent with the period of intensive research on Buddhism in the East and West in the past hundred years. The awakening was sudden and inspired, and it brought about a renaissance in Buddhist studies. This new wave spread through the three continents of Europe, Asia and America, touching almost all branches of the Arts and Humanities thereby leading to a revival of cultural life in Asian countries and making the world Buddha-saṃjñī, or Buddha-conscious.

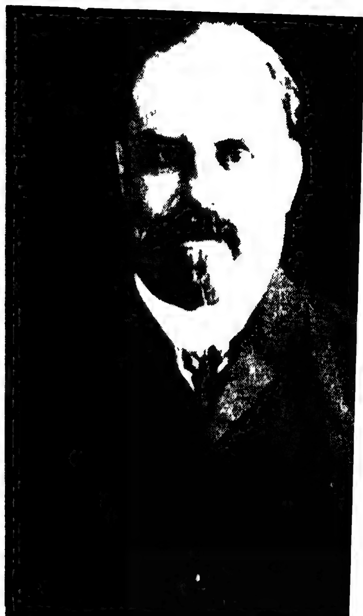
One has only to look into the stupendous eight volumes of *Bibliographie Bouddhique* or into *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, by Winternitz to realize the enormous amount of work done in the field of Buddhist studies. The names of E. Burnouf, Fausböll, Prinsep, Kern, Csoma de Körös, Oldenberg, Poussin, Lévi, Stcherbatsky and the illustrious couple, Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids, stand out in glory in the West and one remembers with reverence such veterans in the East as S. C. Das,

1. See T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism.*

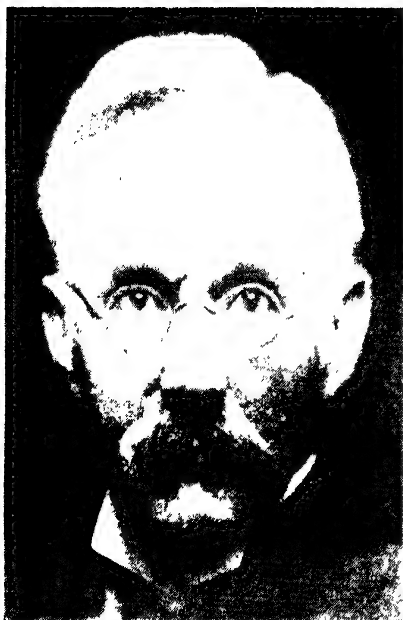
Friedrich Max Muller
(1823-1900)

Louis de la Vallee Poussin
(1869-1939)

Emile Senart
(1847-1928)



Hermann Oldenberg
(1854-1920)



T. W. Rhys Davids
(1843-1922)

Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davi
(1858-1942)

S. C. Vidyabhusan, Bunyiu Nanjio, J. Takakusu, D. Kosambi and B. M. Barua. There are also innumerable other scholars in our times who have kept the torch burning and deserve our grateful homage.

Until a century ago the word Pali or even such words as Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna were little known outside Ceylon, Burma and Japan. The discovery of Pali literature, with which Aśoka is closely associated, is an interesting story. In the first quarter of the last century, archaeologists like James Prinsep and others were engaged in deciphering Aśokan edicts. It was the occurrence of the word Piyadassī in the Mahāvaṃsa, a Pali Chronicle of Ceylon, that helped them to identify King Piyadassī of the edicts with King Aśoka. No wonder that a Pali book from Ceylon should have brought to light the name of a king who was so greatly instrumental in carrying the Buddha's message of enlightenment to the island. The credit for this discovery goes to George Turnour who realized the value of the hidden treasures in Pali literature and published a critical edition and translation of the Mahāvaṃsa in 1837.

These developments were received with great interest by Western Indologists and an eminent scholar, Prof. Vincent Fausboll of Copenhagen, came forward with an edition and a Latin translation of the Dhammapada in 1855. Scholars like E. Burnouf, B. Clough and J. Lewis had already published works on the Pali language based on the few texts that were available. New branches in Buddhist studies were opened. These can roughly be summarized as follows:

(1) Sanskrit studies through the collection of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal (1821—41), and their distribution in various libraries of India and Europe by B. H. Hodgson;
(2) Tibetan studies through the publication of *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1834) by Csoma de Körös;

(3) Pali studies through the publication of R. C. Childers' *Pali-English Dictionary* (1875) and the foundation of the Pali Text Society (1881); and
(4) Chinese studies through the publication of Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka* (1883).

Hodgson's distinct service in procuring Nepalese manuscripts and the subsequent discoveries of Tibetan and Pali literature helped Eugene Burnouf to write the first history of Buddhism. His famous work, *Introduction a l'Historie du Bouddhisme Indien,* published in 1844, contained an excellent survey of Buddhist literature and threw light on the relations between the Pali and Sanskrit traditions. He translated long passages of the Divyāvadāna, the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha, the Vajra-sūcī and wrote the first notes on the Prajñā-pāramitās, the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra and other extant literature. His second work, *Lotus de la bonne Loi,* was a French translation of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, which appeared in 1852.

While Burnouf concentrated on Sanskrit Buddhism, Fausböll made progress with his edition of the Pali texts. His edition of the Dhammapada with a Latin translation (1855) heralded the studies in Buddhist religion and thought. His English translation of another major work, the Sutta-nipāta, was published in the Sacred Books of the East Series in 1881, while the Pali Text Society published his critical edition of the same text in 1885.

His greatest work, however, was the edition of the Jātakas. This monumental work, which was his first love, will for ever remain a standing monument of his astonishing mind and industry. This was a substantial contribution to the studies of popular Buddhism and Indian folklore. Fausböll published this standard edition in six volumes between 1877 and 1897, thus contributing very largely to the study of cultural material in Buddhist literature.

Even before the Pali Text Society was begun, many eminent scholars had devoted themselves to editing Pali texts. The credit for editing the entire Vinaya-piṭaka, for

instance, goes to Hermann Oldenberg, a giant among the Indologists in the last century. He was a great Vedic scholar and has set the standard for the critical editions and interpretations of the Ṛgveda. His learned introduction to the Vinaya-piṭaka brought the Discipline of the Buddhist Order to the forefront and a new field was opened for Buddhist ecclesiastical studies. The Vinaya-piṭaka was published during the period from 1879 to 1883 and his English translations of the Pātimokkha, the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga, in collaboration with Rhys Davids, appeared in Volumes XIII, XVII, and XX of the Sacred Books of the East (1881—85). His other celebrated work, *The Buddha*, was translated into English by Hoey in the year 1882. This was the first text-book in Europe based wholly on first-hand Pali sources. His other major works were the editions of the Thera-Therī-gāthā (P.T.S., 1883) the Dīpavaṃsa (Text and English translation, 1897), and *Literatur des alten Indien.*

Apart from these solid works, Oldenberg has many learned articles to his credit. His erudition in Vedic literature helped him to establish the relation between Pali literature and the Vedas. His original suggestion that the introduction to the Sāmaññaphala-sutta is an imitation of the Yājñavalkya-Janaka dialogue in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (IV, I), or his contention that the Pali Jātakas are akin to the Ākhyāna hymns of the Ṛgveda is an illustration in point.

Another great scholar of this period was Prof. H. Kern of Leyden. Kern's first work was an edition of the Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra (Vol. I., H.O.S., 1891), a Sanskrit counterpart of the Pali Jātakas. His edition of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (*Bibl. Buddhica*, 1908) and its translation (S.B.E., Vol. XXI, 1884) threw abundant light on the Mahāyāna, and made the study of the religious aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism easier. In 1896 his famous *Manual of Indian Buddhism* was published in Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, or the

Encyclopaedia for Indo-Aryan Research. It gave for the first time a complete, systematic and concise survey of the long history of Buddhism. Even to this day, it remains a valuable book of reference for students of Buddhism. His other monumental work, *Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde* in two volumes (1901—1903), gives a detailed account of the life of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha. It also contains a valuable history of the Buddhist Councils and later developments of various schools and sects.

These works, however, were essentially of a preliminary character. The historical importance of the newly discovered Pali literature was soon recognized by many younger Oriental scholars, the foremost of them being Prof. Rhys Davids. In 1864 he entered the Ceylon Civil Service, where he showed a keen interest in his Buddhist surroundings and learnt Pali with Y. Unnase and the Ven. Sumangala of the Vidyodaya College, Colombo. He returned to England in 1872 and associated himself with the works of Childers, Fausböll and Oldenberg. Childers' articles on Nibbāṇa had aroused much controversy and Rhys Davids gave his mature judgment on this topic in his book, *Buddhism* (1878). In 1879 he published his English translation of the Nidānakathā (Buddhist Birth Stories) with a critical introduction on the transmigration of folklore. With Oldenberg he translated into English the volumes of the Vinaya-piṭaka referred to above. This was his first contribution to the Sacred Books of the East Series (1881—85).

In 1881 Prof. Rhys Davids was invited to give the Hibbert Lectures in America. Here he announced the birth of the famous Pali Text Society. In stately language he described his new outlook towards the field of Buddhist studies and declared, "The Sacred Books of the early Buddhists have preserved to us the sole record of the only religious movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to Christianity; and it is not too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history and especially of

religious history than the publication of the Vedas has already been." This new project was welcomed both in the East and the West, and many distinguished scholars came forward to help him in the noble cause. The rest of his life is indeed the life of the Pali Text Society. His sympathetic outlook for the East and his missionary zeal for Buddhist studies made him a champion in this sphere; and, until he died in 1922, he served the Society for a period of forty-one years with love and devotion and helped to publish almost the whole of the Pali canonical texts, a large number of Pali commentaries, about a dozen translations and some twenty issues of a journal containing learned articles on Buddhism, and on the Pali language and literature. During this period of manifold activities, Prof. Rhys Davids himself edited a number of texts like the Dīgha-nikāya (1889, 1903, 1910), the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha (1884), the Dāṭhāvaṃsa (1884) and a manual of Yogāvacāra (1896). He also brought out his English translations of the Milinda-pañha (S.B.E. 1890—94) and of the Dīgha-nikāya in 1889, 1910 and 1921 (S.B.B.). His critical introductions to the individual suttas of the Dīgha-nikāya and the learned notes on them are indispensable for the study of this text. Even today this work remains a model for the translation of similar texts. His other works of general interest are many; but two, namely, *Buddhism* (1896) and *Buddhist India* (1903) won great popularity through their novelty and original research.

However, the most important of his works, his *Pali-English Dictionary,* compiled in collaboration with Dr. William Stede, is a monumental work worthy of a great scholar. With the increase of new publications by the Pali Text Society, the old dictionary by Childers was found inadequate and, in 1902, Prof. Rhys Davids conceived the idea of compiling a dictionary on an international basis. The First World War, however, interrupted his scheme. Therefore, it was not until 1916 that he set to work on this dictionary with the assistance of Dr. William Stede under the auspices

of the Pali Text Society. He lived to see the publication of the first three parts of this magnificent work. His eminent colleague, Dr. Stede, completed the work in 1925. Indeed, the services of Prof. Rhys Davids to the cause of Pali studies were singular and original. He was, in the words of his wife, the Max Müller of Buddhism.

Prof. Rhys Davids was perhaps excelled only by his wife, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, who brought her mighty contributions to Pali studies as a crowning glory to her husband's work. As a life-long companion and a co-worker of her husband, she took active part in the publications of the Pali Text Society and, after the death of the founder, conducted the affairs of the Society admirably in spite of adverse circumstances. Even as early as 1909, she had translated into English the Therī-gāthā (Psalms of the Sisters), which, for lyrical beauty, is next only to Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* (1885). This book was soon followed by an English translation of the Thera-gāthā (Psalms of the Brethren, 1913). In 1917 she gave another fine English translation of the Sagāthāvagga of the Saṃyutta-nikāya. The credit for bringing the abstruse Abhidhamma-piṭaka to light also goes to her. In addition, she gave readable editions of otherwise difficult texts, such as the Vibhaṅga (1904), the Paṭṭhāna (1921), the Yamaka (1912) and the Visuddhimagga (1920). She also translated into English the Dhammasaṅgaṇi (*Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, 1923), the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha (*Compendium of Philosophy*, 1910) and the Kathā-vatthu (*Points of Controversy*, 1915), the last two in collaboration with Z. Aung.

Apart from these editions and translations, Mrs. Rhys Davids wrote a number of original books dealing with the history of early Buddhist thought. The impact of the researches in Mahāyāna Buddhism on the one hand, and the repulsion caused by the dogmatic Anātmavāda of the Southern Buddhists on the other, inspired Mrs. Rhys Davids to look for the original teachings of the Buddha, and she

brought out her thought-provoking *Śākya or Buddhist Origins* in 1931. She was a lady of astonishing energy and wrote a number of articles. These have been collected in *Wayfarer's Words* in three volumes which were published posthumously in 1942. Whatever she wrote, she wrote with conviction and every word of her writing bears the stamp of her unique personality.

The Pali Text Society brought into prominence many illustrious scholars of the West like V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers, K. E. Neumann, Léon Feer, F. L. Woodward, R. Morris and E. Hardy. To these we can add the magnificent works of American scholars. *Buddhism in Translations* by Warren and *Buddhist Legends* by E. W. Burlingame (Harvard Oriental Series) contributed considerably to the popularization of Buddhist studies.

The labours of Western scholars could not but bring about an awakening among the scholars of India. This led to the foundation of the Buddhist Text Society in Calcutta in 1892. The President of this Society expressed the feeling of the whole country, when he observed at the first general meeting, "It certainly does not redound much to our honour that Buddhist literature should be more explored in the West than in the East; but I trust that this Society will be the means of wiping off this standing reproach to us." The large number of valuable manuscripts scattered in various libraries in Nepal and outside were catalogued by Rajendra Lal Mitra and Hara Prasad Shastri. They also brought out *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* in 1882. In the same year, the great Indian explorer, Sarat Chandra Das, returned from his travels into the interior of Tibet, where he had collected an immense amount of material from the ancient libraries of the Sakya and Sam-ye monasteries of Lhasa. The thrilling accounts of his journey have been published in *The Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*. He gave a series of lectures on the Indian paṇḍits in Tibet, in which he brought to light the works of Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna or Atiśa. These

lectures were later published in his *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*. His editions of the Avadāna-kalpalatā of Kṣemendra in 1888 (*Bibl. Indica Series*) and the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa in 1898 were substantial contributions to the study of Buddhist Sanskrit literature. He also prepared a Tibetan-English dictionary.

Sarat Chandra Das was indeed a pioneer in Tibetan studies, and was, thus, the Csoma de Körös of India. The Buddhist Text Society, which he served for many years, published many unknown texts such as the Bodhicaryāvatāra (1894) and the first few chapters of the Visuddhimagga (1893). It is notable that the Society had embarked upon a novel and ingenious scheme of publishing a Sanskrit version of the Pali Visuddhimagga. It also published the Svayambhū-purāṇa and a translation of the Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā by Hara Prasad Shastri. Harimohan Vidyabhusan's translation of some portions of Candrakīrti's Mādhyamika-vṛtti was also published. Moreover, the Society arranged for the teaching of Buddhists from abroad in the Sanskrit College of Calcutta and thus opened a new department of Buddhist studies in India.

Another eminent Indian in this field was Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan, a pupil and colleague of S. C. Das. Dr. Vidyabhusan was a great Sanskritist and had specialized in Indian logic. In 1893 his services were lent by the Government of Bengal to the Buddhist Text Society, under whose auspices he edited a number of Buddhist Sanskrit texts. He came into contact with S. C. Das and assisted him in the preparation of a Tibetan-English dictionary (1879-1900). He was the first Indian to obtain an M.A. degree in Pali at Calcutta University (1901). In 1910 he went to Ceylon and studied for six months with the Ven. High Priest Sumangala, the Principal of the Vidyodaya College, Colombo. On his return he was appointed Principal of the famous Government Sanskrit College at Calcutta, where he carried on intensive research in Indian—particularly Buddhist—logic and philosophy.

His earlier works include editions of the Avadāna-kalpalatā (in co-operation with S. C. Das), parts of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, Kaccāyana's Pali Grammar with an English translation (1907), the Buddha-stotra-saṅgraha (1908) and the Nyāyabindu (1917). His greatest contributions were in the field of logic. He wrote several learned articles dealing with the works of Dinnāga and Nāgārjuna. His editions of the Mādhyamika aphorisms, about 150 essays on various aspects of Buddhist philosophy, and the monumental *History of Indian Logic* (1922) are an eloquent tribute to a worthy son of India. It will not be an exaggeration to say that he revolutionized research in Buddhism by laying proper emphasis on Mahāyāna logic and philosophy.

Dr. Vidyabhusan's Western contemporaries in this field were Max Müller, Bendall, Minayeff, Max Wallesser and Sylvain Lévi. Max Müller, the father of Indian studies in the West, contributed greatly to the progress of studies in Buddhism. His translations of the Dhammapada, the Sukhāvatī-vyūha and the Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā made more valuable his great work of editing the translations of the Pali Piṭaka. In 1889, I. P. Minayeff brought out his edition of the Bodhicaryāvatāra. This was followed by the edition (1902) and translation (1922) of the Śikṣā-samuccaya by C. Bendall. These two works helped considerably in the popularization of the excellent works of Śāntideva. Max Wallesser discovered many Tibetan works. Of his important editions reference may be made here to the commentary of Buddhapālita on the Mādhyamika-kārikā (*Bibl. Bud.*, XVI), the Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra (1916), and the Manorathapūraṇī (Part I, Pali Text Society, 1924). His German translation of extracts from the Aṣṭasāhasrikā appeared in 1914. He was the author of many valuable books in German, of which the following may be mentioned: *Die Buddhistische Philosophie* (1904), *Die Streitlosigkeit des Subhuti* (1917), *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus* (1927) and *Sprache und Heimat des Pali Kanons* (1926).

The greatest Indologist of this period, however, was

Sylvain Lévi who rendered unique service to studies in Sanskrit Buddhism. He was endowed with a profound knowledge of the Chinese, Tibetan and Kuchean languages, which enabled him to give the first critical editions of a number of Mahāyāna texts. In 1892 he published, for the first time, the first chapter of the Buddhacarita and in the same year discovered two Chinese translations of the Milinda-pañha. In 1905 he came to Nepal, explored its libraries anew and wrote his famous *Le Nepal.* In 1907 he wrote a critical study of the Divyāvadāna and, in 1911, published fragments of Buddhist texts in the Kuchean language. In 1912 he wrote an important work on the Dhammapada recensions. During the same period he published the Śatapañcāśatika-stotra and in 1912 discovered a legend of the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka in the Tokharian language. In 1918 he brought out with Th. Stcherbatsky the first Kośasthāna of Yaśomitra's Sphuṭārthā and in the following year he discovered the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā. He also discovered the Mahākarma-vibhaṅga, a Sanskrit version of the Cūla-kamma-vibhaṅga-sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya, and published it with its Chinese versions in 1932. During 1929—31 he published with Prof. J. Takakusu three fascicules of Hobogirin, and an encyclopaedic dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms, which unfortunately remained incomplete on account of the Second World War.

Sylvain Lévi's greatest discovery was the Sanskrit texts of the Vijñānavāda school of Buddhism while that of the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra was a milestone in Mahāyāna studies. His edition of this text with a French translation and an exposition of Vijñānavāda appeared in 1907. His other major discovery was the twin texts, the Viṃśatikā and the Triṃśatikā with their commentaries, which he published in 1925. In 1934 he edited with S. Yamaguchi the Madhyānta-vibhāga-ṭīkā, a systematic exposition of the Yogācāra-Vijñaptivāda as contained in Vasubandhu's Bhāṣya on the Madhyānta-vibhāga-sūtra of Maitreya. These works illuminated a dark period in Buddhist history and many

eminent scholars like Poussin, Stcherbatsky and others became interested in the study of Yogācāra which was the final phase of Buddhist philosophy in India.

Another great luminary of this period was Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin[1], a pupil of Sylvain Lévi and H. Kern. After completing his studies in linguistics at Louvain, he began his studies in Oriental subjects at the Sorbonne as a pupil of S. Lévi in 1891, and in the following years went to Leyden to study the Gāthā dialect with Prof. H. Kern. Here he studied Tibetan and Chinese, which opened for him a vast field of research. In 1893 he became a Professor at the University of Ghent, where he worked for about 35 years and carried on his studies in Buddhism, particularly in Sarvāstivāda Buddhism. In 1921 he organized the Sociéte belge d'Etudes orientales. Under the title *Bouddhisme: Notes et Bibliographie,* he published learned reviews of new books on Oriental subjects. He also directed the editing of *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques,* to which he contributed several valuable articles on the Abhidharma. He contributed about thirty articles on different Buddhist topics to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* Together with Ph. Colinet he edited and published *Le Museon* in which appeared some of his valuable editions like the Bodhicaryāvatāra, the Bodhisattvabhūmi, the Mādhyamakāvatāra, and the Viṃśika-kārikā-prakaraṇa of Vasubandhu. His other notable editions are the Pañcakrama (1896), the Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā (1901—1905), the Prasannapadā of Candrakīrti (1903—1913) and the Mahāniddesa (1916—1917).

His greatest works, however, are his translations into French of the Abhidharma-kośa of Vasubandhu (1923—31) and the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi of Yuan Chwang (1930). He was a pioneer in the study of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism. Very little was known about the teachings of this school until Poussin published his epoch-making translation of the Abhidharma-kośa with Vasubandhu's bhāṣya in

1. See *Indian Historical Quarterly,* 1940, Vol. XVI, No. 2.

seven parts. He very successfully reconstructed, on the basis of Chinese and Tibetan material, almost the whole of the text of the kārikās of the Abhidharma-kośa. The valuable and exhaustive notes with which the work is provided show that in this great scholar there was a unique combination of the linguist, the philosopher and the critic. Poussin opened the vast stores of thought that lay buried in a sealed chamber and filled a huge gap between the studies of early Pali works and the late Śūnyavāda doctrines. The publication of this work revolutionized Buddhist studies and gave rise to many controversial topics which engaged the attention of some eminent contemporaries like Mrs. Rhys Davids, Jean Przyluski and Th. Stcherbatsky. His thought-provoking *Nirvāṇa* (1925) propounded a novel view and brought severe criticism from Th. Stcherbatsky, an eminent Orientalist of Russia.

Th. Stcherbatsky, like Poussin, had worked for many years in the field of Sarvāstivāda and Mahāyāna. He was a close associate of Sylvain Lévi and had in 1917 edited the Tibetan text of the Kośa and its bhāṣya with the assistance of E. Obermiller, the editor of the Abhisamayālaṇkāra-prajñā-pāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra (1929) and the Uttara-tantra (1931). In 1920 he published *Soul Theory of the Buddhists*, an English translation of Chapter IX of the Kośa. In 1923 he published a learned treatise, *Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word Dharma*. In this masterly work he established the fact that the theory of skandha was an element of ancient Buddhism and the pivot of the whole doctrine. In criticism of Poussin's *Nirvāṇa*, he brought out his famous work, *The Central Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, which was perhaps the last word on this most debated topic. His profound study of the Kośa, the Mādhyamika-kārikā and the later works on Buddhist logic are clearly reflected in this work, which gave for the first time a complete and constructive survey of the entire Buddhist philosophy. These preliminary treatises were followed by his monumental work, *Buddhist Logic*, in two volumes in 1932. It was the

first of its kind, exclusively based on the original works of such master minds as Dinnāga, Dharmakīrti and Dharmottara.

In the preface to his first volume of *Buddhist Logic* he observes: "There is a widely spread prejudice that positive philosophy is to be found only in Europe. It is also a prejudice that Aristotle's treatment was final, that having had in this field no predecessor, he also had no need of a continuator." The publication of these two volumes not only removed this prejudice against Indian logic, but also crowned the vast and extensive Buddhist studies of the whole century.

Since the Pali Text Society had been publishing the Pali texts, it was not considered necessary to publish them in India, too. However, readers in India did not feel quite at home with the Roman characters in which these editions were published. There was need of a scholar with insight and inspiration who could make the Pali treasures accessible to the masses. This prime need was largely fulfilled by the late Dharmananda Kosambi, who, true to the Indian tradition, left his hearth and home in search of Truth and a Teacher and built up a tradition of Buddhist studies in his motherland.

His passionate zeal for knowledge and the teachings of the Buddha took him several times to Ceylon, Burma and distant parts of India. For a while he became a Śrāmaṇera in Ceylon (1902) and learnt Pali with the Rev. Sumangala of Vidyodaya College. He spent many years in Burma meditating like a true yogin. He was first discovered by Calcutta University where he served for a while in 1906, but his desire to teach Buddhism among his own people brought him to Maharashtra, where a chance meeting with Prof. J. H. Woods of Harvard University took him to America to edit the Visuddhimagga, a work which was left incomplete by the famous Warren, the author of *Buddhism in Translations*. This work he completed very successfully in 1932, although the volume was not published until 1950, long after the publication of his Devanāgarī edition of the work. For some years (1912—1918) he was Professor of Pali at

Fergusson College in Poona, where certain eminent scholars of our day had the privilege of studying with him. It is through these scholars that the Pali language found a place in the schools and colleges of the Deccan, and many Pali texts were published in Devanāgarī editions.

Dharmananda Kosambi was a sincere nationalist. For some years he served the National University of Gujarat started by Mahatma Gandhi, where he wrote several works on Buddhism in Marathi and Gujarati. Some of these are *Buddhacarita*, *Buddha-līlā-sāra-saṅgraha*, *Buddha Dharma āṇi Saṅgha*, *Samādhi-mārga*, *Jātaka-kathā*, *Buddha-Saṅgha-paricaya*, *Hindi Sanskṛti āṇi Ahiṃsā* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. Together with a Marathi translation of the Suttanipāta and several other works, these were all written with a view to popularizing Pali studies and enlightening the masses about the Buddha. He also made valuable contributions in the field of Abhidharma. His *Navanīta-ṭīkā* on the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha and *Dīpikā* on the Visuddhimagga are of great help to students of Abhidharma. But the greatest contribution of this great scholar of Pali and lover of Buddhism is the Devanāgarī edition of the Visuddhimagga (1940) which was his life work.

Another scholar, the late Prof. C. V. Rajvade, who died very young at the age of 30, may also be mentioned. He was a worthy pupil of Dharmananda Kosambi. He edited, for the first time, in Devanāgarī characters the first fifty suttas of the Majjhima-nikāya, and the Hatthavanagalla-vihāravaṃsa, a small Pali text of the 13th century A.D. His Marathi translation of the Dīgha-nikāya, particularly of the first volume, shows his scholarship and critical acumen.

Professor Kosambi's contemporary, B. M. Barua, was another Indian who continued the Buddhist philosophical studies started by Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusan. Dr. Barua's first work, *The History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, was an epoch-making publication. Through this work he placed early Buddhism in its real perspective and countered the tendency of studying Buddhism in isolation, independently of

Rajendralal Mitra
(1824-1891)

Anagarika Dharmapala
(1864-1933)

Hara Prasad Shastri
(1853-1931)

Dharmananda Kosambi
(1871-1947)

pre-Buddhist thought. His second work, *Ājīvikas*, brought to light a powerful ancient religious movement, now extinct in its motherland. His Prakrit Dhammapada was the fruit of great literary industry. Dr. Barua also wrote many valuable works on Buddhist inscriptions and history. His *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions* and *Ceylon Lectures* considerably advanced the study of the history of Buddhism.

The brilliant contributions of these eminent scholars bear testimony to the growing popularity of Buddhist literature and thought. They also point to the vitality of a culture which could command the wholehearted service of so many scholars of the East and the West.

In China

The Rev. T'ai-Hsu is recognized as the greatest Buddhist leader of the early 20th century in China. He was born in 1888 A.D. in the Chung-te district of Che-kiang Province which has remained Buddhist since Buddhism was introduced into China in the first century A.D. He was trained at the Tien T'ung Shan monastery under the well-known monk, Pa-chi, and then in the Monastery of Seven Pagodas where he studied the Tripiṭaka and practised meditation. He was deeply influenced by the teachings of T'ien-tai and the Avataṃsaka school.

He was keenly interested in giving scientific training to Buddhist monks in China and wanted to reform the Buddhist Saṅgha of that country. He was a contemporary of celebrated scholars like Kang Yu-wei, Liang Chi-chao, Sun Yat-sen, Carsun Chang and others. Among the institutions he founded are the Buddhist Congress of China (1911), the Buddhist Institute of Wuchang (1912), a preaching hall in a monastery of the Lu-shan Hills (1924), the Buddhist International Institute and a Sino-Tibetan Buddhist College (1930) on Mount Chin-yun, near Chungking, and the Young Men's Buddhist Association of China (1945). After his country's victory in

the Second World War, he went to Nanking and became the Chairman of the Buddhist Reformation Committee and applied himself to the reformation of the Chinese Saṅgha.

Being of a scholarly bent, he worked zealously in the cause of the education of Buddhists. Early in life at the age of twenty-one, he opened a centre of Buddhist education with the help of his teacher, Pa-chi, and undertook research in Buddhism in collaboration with the celebrated lay disciple of the Buddha, Yang Wen-hui. He later became the Director of the Buddhist Research Vihāra at Nanking. From 1912 to 1916, he was engaged in a comparative study of Buddhist literature and philosophy on the one hand and Western logic, philosophy and experimental science on the other. He was deeply interested in the Vijñāna-mātra (mere consciousness) philosophy which had also attracted the young non-Buddhist generation of China. He wrote books like *Evolution Rightly Explained, The Absolute Meaning of Philosophy,* and *New Conception about Education,* which inspired the modern Chinese youth. His views were propagated through a magazine called *Bodhi,* which has now changed its name to *Hai Chao Ying* (Ocean Tide Voice).

The Rev. T'ai-Hsu travelled extensively in Indo-China, Formosa, Japan, Europe and America which helped him to widen his vision. He called an International Buddhist Conference in 1924 at the Great Grove Monastery in the Lu-shan hills, and took part in several conferences like the East Asiatic Buddhist Conference in Japan (1925) and in 1938 formed a Buddhist goodwill mission which toured India, Burma, Ceylon and Thailand. He sent his disciples to India and Ceylon to study Buddhism from the original sources in Sanskrit and Pali. His insistence was more on the understanding of the Buddhist books than on their memorization. He also became the President of the Buddhist Institute of South Fu-kien. In 1947, after a most active career which was an inspiration to the younger generation, the Rev. T'ai-Hsu passed away in Shanghai at the age of fifty-nine while he was staying at the Monastery of Jodo Buddha in that city. He

will long be remembered not only as a scholar but as an organizer and leader of the movement for Buddhist revival in China.

In Japan

The name of Jiun Sonja (1718—1804) is intimately connected with the initiation of Sanskrit studies on traditional lines in Japan. His importance lies in the fact that he studied Sanskrit by himself in the pre-Meiji period without being subjected to the influence of contemporary Western scholars or Indian paṇḍits.

Jiun Sonja was a monk of the Shingon sect. This sect was known for its tradition of learning Sanskrit characters in order to read the dhāraṇīs. This study was called Shittan Gaku ('shittan' is the transliteration of siddham which means completion) or the complete characters by which the highest doctrine is described. Naturally he learned this 'shittan' in his youth, but not being satisfied with this, he studied the Sanskrit language by himself and wrote several articles on Sanskrit grammar. At the same time, he read the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Horyuji and other monasteries, and compared them with their Chinese versions. Afterwards he published Sanskrit editions of three sūtras, namely the Sukhāvatīvyūha, the Bhadracarī-nāma-āryasamantabhadra-praṇidhāna, and the Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya. Moreover, he attempted to restore the Sanskrit text of the Prajñānaya from its Chinese version. This was a remarkable attempt and probably the first of its kind in the world. Jiun Sonja called his collection of articles on Sanskrit study 'Bongaku-shinryo' (A Guide to Sanskrit Study). Some important parts of this collection were published in 1953 at Osaka to commemorate the 150th anniversary of his death.

The credit of pioneering Sanskrit research on modern lines in Japan goes to Bunyiu Nanjio (1849-1927). He was sent abroad by the order of Higashi-hongan-ji, the head of the monastery of the Shin sect, to study under Max Müller at Oxford. During his stay in England, he produced in 1883

the well-known Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. He also published in collaboration with Prof. Max Müller such sūtras as the Vajracchedikā and the Sukhāvatī-vyūha.

On his return to Japan in 1884, he began lecturing on Sanskrit studies at the Otani and Tokyo Universities. This was the beginning of Sanskrit and Indological studies at many of Japan's national and private universities.

During and after his term as a professor and later as President of Otani University, he edited the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka in collaboration with Dr. H. Kern of Holland and published the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra and the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra.

Junjiro Takakusu (1866—1945) succeeded B. Nanjio at Tokyo University. He also studied at Oxford under Max Müller. On his return to Japan, he became professor of Sanskrit literature and Indian philosophy at Tokyo University.

He wrote many articles in English and other languages which made him famous abroad. He published the following important works: The Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra (Engl. tr.), S.B.E., XLIX, 1894; *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (671—695 A.D.) by I-tsing (Engl. tr.), 1896, *The Life of Vasubandhu* by Paramārtha (Engl. tr.), P.T.S. edition, 1904; the Samanta-pāsādikā (P.T.S. edition in collaboration with M. Nagai), 1924—38; and *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy* (Lectures at Hawaii University, U.S.A.), 1947. He was also the chief editor of Taisho-shin-shu-Daizokyo (the Taisho edition of the Tripiṭaka).

He was both a great teacher and a great scholar. Among the many Indologists who worked under his guidance at Tokyo University were: Dr. H. Ui and Prof. E. Kanakura who specialized in Indian philosophy; the late Prof. T. Kimura, Dr. S. Miyamoto and Prof. S. Hanayama who worked on Buddhism; Dr. M. Nagai who was primarily interested in Pali literature and Prof. N. Tsuji who studied Vedic and Sanskrit literature. Takakusu also founded a Women's College in Tokyo, where the study of Buddhism occupied a prominent place.

Unrai Wogihara [1877 (?)—1947] learned Sanskrit in Germany under Dr. Leumann. He edited the Mahāyāna texts and among his notable works are the Mahāvyutpatti, (Sanskrit-Chinese edition, 1915), the Bodhisattva-bhūmi (1930), the Sphutārthā Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā (1932), the Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka (1932—35) and the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (1934). As professor at Taisho University he began compiling a Sanskrit-Japanese dictionary in collaboration with K. Tsuchida and other members of the University staff, but this work was interrupted by the Second World War and his subsequent death.

He gave an impetus to the study of Sanskrit by publishing a Sanskrit grammar in Japanese.

Chizen Akanuma (1884—1937) was sent to England and Ceylon by Higashi-honagan-ji to study early Buddhism. In Ceylon, under the guidance of Ñāṇissara Thera, he perfected his knowledge of Pali Buddhism. He thus became a pioneer in the field of Pali Buddhism in Japan. As professor in Pali Buddhism at Otani University, he published a number of books on Buddhist literature, among which the most well known are: *The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas*, 1929, and *The Dictionary of Proper Names of Indian Buddhism*, 1931. He was responsible for a number of Japanese translations from the Pali Nikāyas and from the Abhidhamma. After his death, his disciples at Otani University collected his lectures and published them in three volumes.

Progress of Buddhist Studies: Publications and Research

In Europe and America

The beginnings of Pali Buddhist studies in Europe may be traced as far back as 1826 when E. Burnouf and Christian Lassen published their essay upon Pali in French. The edition in Roman characters with an English translation (Cotta Church Mission Press, Ceylon, 1837) by George Turnour of

the first thirty-eight chapters of the well-known Chronicle of Ceylon called the Mahāvaṃsa marked the first important attempt by a European scholar to introduce Buddhist literature into the West. After some time Burmese and Siṃhalese Buddhism was brought to the notice of European scholars by the publication, based on manuscripts in the vernacular languages, of the works of two Christian missionaries. These were the *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, The Buddha of the Burmese* (1st edition, Rangoon, 1858) from the pen of Bishop P. Brigandet and the series of works by R. Spence Hardy of the Wesleyan Mission in Ceylon, namely, *Eastern Monachism* (1850), *A Manual of Buddhism* (1st edition, 1860) and *Legends and Theories of the Buddhist compared with History and Science* (1866). An important advance was marked by the publication of the well-known *Dictionary of the Pali Language* (London, 1875) by a Ceylon civilian, Robert Caesar Childers. In Continental Europe, V. Fausböll brought out his great edition of the Jātakas in seven volumes (1877—97) and another Danish scholar, V. Trenckner, published his edition of the Milinda-pañha (London, 1880) while H. Oldenberg published his edition and translation of the Dīpavaṃsa (London, 1878), as well as his great edition of the Vinaya-piṭaka in five volumes (London, 1879–83). A great step forward was taken in 1881 when T. W. Rhys Davids, to whom Pali Buddhist studies in Europe owe more than to any other single scholar, started the Pali Text Society with a board of five members with himself as Chairman. The object of this renowned Society was to make available to students "the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the original manuscripts throughout this country (England) and the public libraries of Europe". The Society has published to date the whole of Pali canonical and all the important works of the Pali non-canonical literature including commentaries[1]. To the works of the first category belong the

1. Owing to limited space, only a few of the popular canonical texts and commentaries are mentioned here.

Dīgha-nikāya, edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter (3 vols., 1889—1911), the Majjhima-nikāya, edited by V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers and Mrs. Rhys Davids (4 vols., 1888—1925), the Saṃyutta-nikāya, edited by Léon Feer (6 vols., 1884—1904), the Aṅguttara-nikāya, edited by R. Morris, E. Hardy and Mabel Hunt (6 vols., 1885—1910), the Khuddaka-pāṭha, edited by Helmer Smith and Mabel Hunt (1915), the Suttanipāta, edited by Dines Anderson and Helmer Smith (1913), and the Thera-gāthā and the Therī-gāthā, edited by H. Oldenberg and R. Pischel (1883). In the same class of canonical works published by the Society are included the Dhammasaṇgaṇi, edited by E. Müller (1885), the Vibhaṅga, edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids (1904), and the Kathā-vatthu, edited by Arnold C. Taylor (2 vols., 1894, 1897). The commentaries on the Canon published by the Society include Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Dīgha-nikāya, edited by T. W. Rhys Davids, J. Estlin Carpenter and W. Stede (3 vols., 1886—1932), the commentaries on the Majjhima-nikāya, edited by J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi and I. B. Horner (5 vols., 1922—38), those on the Saṃyutta-nikāya, edited by F. L. Woodward (3 vols., 1929—37), those on the Aṅguttara-nikāya, edited by Max Walleser and Hermann Kopp (4 vols., 1924—40), the commentaries on the Khuddaka-pāṭha, edited by Helmer Smith (1915), those on the Suttanipāta, edited by Helmer Smith (3 vols., 1916—18), those on the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, edited by E. Müller (1885), Dhammapāla's commentary on the Udāna, edited by F. L. Woodward (1926), those on the Vimāna-vatthu, edited by E. Hardy (1901), those on the Peta-vatthu, edited by E. Hardy (1894), those on the Therī-gāthā, edited by E. Müller (1882), those on the Thera-gāthā, still incomplete, edited by F. L. Woodward (2 vols., 1940,1952), and lastly, the commentary on the Dhammapada, edited by H. C. Norman (5 vols., 1906—15). Other non-canonical works published by the Society include Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids (2 vols., 1920—21), the Mahāvaṃsa (1908) and the Cūlavaṃsa (2 vols., 1925—27), edited by Wilhelm Geiger.

The translations of Pali canonical and non-canonical works by European scholars went hand in hand with their publication of the original texts. The Vinaya-piṭaka was translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg (S.B.E., Vols. 13, 17, 20, 1881—85), while extracts from the same work were rendered into Russian by Minayeff (1870) and into German by Karl Seidenstücker (1924—25). A new translation of the Vinaya-piṭaka was published recently by I. B. Horner (5 vols., S.B.B., 1940—52). The Dīgha-nikāya was rendered into English in *Dialogues of the Buddha* (3 vols., 1899—1921), by T. W. Rhys Davids and Mrs. Rhys Davids and into German (4 vols., 1907—28) by K. E. Neumann, while extracts were published with a French translation (1876) by M. P. Grimblot and German translations by K. E. Neumann in 1911 and by R. Otto Franke in 1913. The Majjhima-nikāya was translated into German by K. E. Neumann (3 vols., 1896—1902), into Italian by K. E. Neumann and G. de Lorenzo (1907) and into English, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, by Lord Chalmers (2 vols., 1926—27). The Saṃyutta-nikāya was translated into English, *The Book of Kindred Sayings* (P.T.S., 5 vols., 1917—30), by Mrs. Rhys Davids and F. L. Woodward, and into German (2 vols., 1925—30), by Wilhelm Geiger. The Aṅguttara-nikāya was rendered into German (5 vols., 1907—20), by Bhikkhu Ñāṇatiloka (Anton Gueth), and into English, *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, by F. L. Woodward and E. M. Hare (P.T.S., 5 vols., 1932—36). The Dhammapada and the Suttanipāta were translated into English by Max Müller and V. Fausböll respectively (S.B.E., 10 vols., 1881). The Dhammapada was further rendered into German by A. Weber (1860), by Leopold von Schröeder (1892), by Neumann (1893), by Dahlke (1919), by Walter Markgraf (1912), by R. Otto Franke (1923), into Italian by P. E. Pavolini (1908), into Polish by St. Fr. Michalski-Iwienski (1925), into French by Fernando Huc (1878) and by R. and M. de Maratray (1931). The English translations of the Dhammapada and the Itivuttaka (1935), by F. L. Wood-

ward and of the Vimāna-vatthu and the Peta-vatthu (1942), by Jean Kennedy and H. S. Gehman have appeared under the title *Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon.* The Suttanipāta was translated into German by K. E. Neumann (1905) and by Karl Seidenstücker (1931), into English by Lord Chalmers, along with the Pali text (Harvard Oriental Series, No. 37, 1932), and by E. M. Hare under the title *Woven Cadences of Early Buddhists* (1945). K. E. Neumann translated the Thera-gāthā and the Therī-gāthā into German (1899) while Mrs. Rhys Davids translated the same into English in *Psalms of the Early Buddhists, Psalms of the Sisters,* and *Psalms of the Brethren* (P.T.S., 1909, 1913). The first fasciculus of a new edition of the Pali Canon after the Cambodian version was published with an accompanying translation in French by J. Bloch, J. Filliozat, and L. Renou in 1949. A number of scholars under the editorship of E. B. Cowell translated the Jātakas into English in seven volumes (1895—1913) and the same work was translated into German by Julius Dutoit in seven volumes (1908—11). A few chapters (I—VI) of the Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa were rendered into German by Bhikkhu Ñāṇatiloka (1931—36). William Geiger assisted by Mabel Bode translated the Mahāvaṃsa into English (P.T.S., 1912) and the Cūḷavaṃsa was translated into German by Wilhelm Geiger and re-translated from the German into English by Mrs. C. Mabel Rickmers (P.T.S., 2 vols., 1929—30). The Milinda-pañha was translated into English (S.B.E., Vols. 35, 36, 1890—94), by T. W. Rhys Davids, into German by F. Otto Schröeder in 1907 and Bhikkhu Ñāṇatiloka in 1924 and into French by L. Finot in 1923. Copious extracts from Pali canonical and non-canonical literature were translated by H. C. Warren in his work, *Buddhism in Translations* (H.O.S., 1896), and those from the Dhammapada commentary were translated similarly by E. W. Burlingame in his work called *Buddhist Legends* (H.O.S., 3 vols., 1921). The Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary,* edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede (1921—25), has been followed by

Critical Pali Dictionary by Dines Anderson and Helmer Smith, of which only one volume in nine parts (Copenhagen, 1927—28) has been published so far. We may also mention the publication of *Pali Tipiṭaka Concordance*, Vol. 1, prepared by scholars like Woodward and others, and edited by E. M. Hare. This was brought out by the Pali Text Society in 1952—55 and has proved very useful to Buddhist scholars.

The foundations of the study of Buddhist literature in Sanskrit and mixed Sanskrit were laid by B. H. Hodgson, British Resident in Nepal (1821—43), who utilized his long stay in that country to make a very valuable collection of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts which he afterwards divided between the libraries of Calcutta, London and Paris. He also wrote papers in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 16 (1828), and *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, Vol. 3 (1828), on topics connected with his collection. About the same time a Hungarian scholar, Alexander Csōma de Körös, made a daring journey (1818—23) from his native Transylvania to India and having learnt Tibetan from the monks of Ladakh wrote his Tibetan grammar and his Tibetan dictionary (1834) and published his famous 'Analysis of the Kanjur' (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 20, 1836). The first comprehensive survey of Sanskrit Buddhism based upon the Hodgson collection at Paris was made in French by E. Burnouf in *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism* (1st edition, Paris, 1844). He also published in French the first translation of the well-known work of Mahāyāna Buddhism called the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (1852). Simultaneously the study of Chinese Buddhism was inaugurated by such works as the French translation of the Mongol version of Kāśyapa Mātaṅga's Sūtra of 42 Sections by Gabet and Huc (*J.A.*, 1848) and the French translation of the Chinese version of a lost Sanskrit collection of the Avadānas, by Stanislas Julien (3 vols., 1859). Again while A. Weber introduced the great poet Aśvaghoṣa to the West by publishing the text and the translation of the Vajrasūcī (1859), A. Schiefner opened up a rich mine of historical tradition by his translation into German of Tārānātha's his-

tory of Buddhism (1869). Wassiljew, in his great work in German on Buddhism, has given copious extracts from the Avataṃsakas, the Ratnakūṭas and the Dhāraṇīs of the Chinese Buddhist Canon as well as the Chinese versions of the biographies of the great poets and philosophers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. We may also mention here Obermiller's English translation of Bu-ston's history of Buddhism in Tibetan (Vols. I and II, 1931—32). Texts from the Chinese Buddhist Canon were translated in a series of works (1871—78) by Samuel Beal, who also published (S.B.E., XIX, 1883) a translation of the Chinese version of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita. Other important landmarks of this period were the French translation of the Lalitavistara from its Tibetan version (2 vols., 1884, 1892), by P. E. Foucaux, and the translation into French of Körös' 'Analysis of the Kanjur' with numerous additions by Léon Feer (1881). A beginning was made in the publication of the class of Mahāyāna works called the Prajñā-pāramitās by the editions and translations of selected texts by Max Müller (S.B.E., Vol. 49, Oxford, 1881, 1884).

In the period that followed great advances were made in the study of every branch of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature in the original as well as in the Tibetan, Chinese and other versions. As regards the Sanskrit Canon, a great edition of the Mahāvastu was published with a valuable survey of its contents and important comments by E. Sénart (3 vols., 1882—97) while S. Lefmann brought out his edition of the Lalitavistara (2 vols., 1902—1908), thereby superseding the earlier edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series. The Tibetan version of the Udāna-varga of Dharmatrāta was translated into English by W. W. Rockhill (1883) and edited by H. Beckh (1911). Among the Mahāyāna sūtras of the Ratnakūṭa class the Kāśyapa-parivarta was edited from the original Sanskrit with its parallel Tibetan and Chinese versions by Baron A. von Stael-Holstein (1926) while another text called the Bhadramāyā-kāra-vyākaraṇa, based upon Chinese and Tibetan versions, was edited and translated into English by

K. Regamoy in 1938. Recently J. J. Jones published an English translation of the Mahāvastu in two volumes (1949—52). As regards the poet Aśvaghoṣa and his school, the Buddhacarita was edited by E. B. Cowell (Oxford, 1893) and was translated into English by the same scholar (S.B.E., 49, 1894). It was translated into German by Th. Schultze, after Beal's translation of the Chinese version (1895), by Hans Ludwig (1912), by Carl Cappeller (1922), and by Richard Schmidt (1923), while the Tibetan text with its German translation was published by Friedrich Weller (2 vols., 1926, 1928). It was translated into Italian by Carlo Formichi (1912). A new edition as well as a translation of the Buddhacarita was published by E. H. Johnston (1936). The same scholar brought out an edition (1928) and an English translation (1932) of Aśvaghoṣa's second great epic called the Śaundarānanda. The work called the Sūtrālaṅkāra, which is attributed to Aśvaghoṣa, but is really the Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā of Kumāralāṭa, was translated into French after the Chinese version of Kumārajīva by Ed. Huber (1908), while the Tibetan version of a second work attributed to the same poet, namely, the Gaṇḍī-stotragāthā was published with the reconstructed Sanskrit text by Baron a von Staël-Holstein (1913). The Jātakamālā of the poet Āryaśūra was edited by H. Kern (H.O.S., 1891) and translated into English by J. S. Speyer (1893—94). In the branch of Avadāna literature the Divyāvadāna (from which long extracts had been translated before by Burnouf in his Introduction) was edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil (1886), while the Avadāna-śataka was edited by J. S. Speyer (*Bibl. Bud.*. 2 vols., 1906, 1909) and translated into French by Léon Feer (1891). In the field of what may properly be called Mahāyāna canonical literature, the two works bearing the title Sukhāvatī-vyūha were edited by Max Müller and B. Nanjio (Oxford, 1883) and translated by the former (S.B.E., Vol. 49, 1894). The Saddharama-puṇḍarīka was edited by H. Kern and B. Nanjio (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1912) and was translated into English by Kern (S.B.E., Vol. 21, 1884). A new edition of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, based upon the

Nepalese manuscripts and the Chinese version, has been planned by W. Baruch and a preparatory study of the same was published in German in 1938. The Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra was edited by J. Nobel (1937) in the original Sanskrit with the help of its Tibetan. Chinese and Uigur versions. The Tibetan version of this work was translated into German by the same scholar (1944). The Daśabhūmika-sūtra was edited in the original Sanskrit along with its Tibetan version and a French translation by Louis de la Vallée Poussin (1907—11), while a valuable glossary of this work after its Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese versions was published by J. Rahder[1] (1928-29).

As regards the poets and philosophers of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Mādhyamika-kārikās of Nāgarjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika school, were translated after the Tibetan version by Max Walleser (1911) and the Sanskrit text was edited with its commentary by Candrakīrti by Vallée Poussin (1903—13), while extracts from this work and its commentary were translated into English by Th. Stcherbatsky (1927) and into German by St. Schayer (1929—31). The commentary of Nāgārjuna on Pañcaviṃśa-prajñā-pāramitā, called the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra, has been described (*J.A.*, 1950, p. 377) as a kind of encyclopaedia of Buddhist India in the first centuries of the Christian era. The first two volumes of a projected complete French translation of this great work, after the Chinese version, along with the translator's copious notes, have been published (1944, 1949) by E. Lamotte. The Yuktiṣaṣṭikā of Nāgārjuna was translated into German from the Chinese version by Philip Schäffer (1923—1924). A complete translation (in Italian) of the Chatuḥśataka of Āryadeva was brought out (1925) by G. Tucci from the Tibetan version. The Sanskrit text of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra-prajñāpāramitā of Maitreyanātha, the founder of the Yogācāra school, was edited along with its Tibetan version and an English translation and explanatory notes by

1. The Sanskrit text has also been edited by Dr. J. Rahder (Société belge d' Etudes orientales).

Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller (1929). The commentary Abhisamayālaṅkāra-āloka of Haribhadra on this work was published by G. Tucci (G.O.S., 1932). The Sanskrit text of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra with a Sanskrit-Tibetan index was published recently (1954) by E. Conze. The Madhyānta-vibhāga-sūtra of Maitreyanātha with the sub-commentary of Sthiramati was edited in part by V. Bhattacharya and G. Tucci (1932). The Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra, attributed to Asaṅga by its editor, but probably written by Maitreyanātha, was edited with a French translation by S. Lévi (2 vols., 1907, 1911). The Mahāyāna-saṅgraha of Asaṅga was edited after the Tibetan and Chinese versions along with a translation and editor's note in French (2 vols., 1938-39), by E. Lamotte. The Abhidharma-kośa of Vasubandhu has been called a general manual for Hīnayāna Buddhism. A complete annotated translation in French of this great work, based upon the Tibetan and the Chinese versions, was published (1923-24) by Vallée Poussin. Bhāvaviveka's commentary on the Mādhyamika-sūtra, entitled the Prajñā-pradīpa was published in its Tibetan version by Max Walleser (1914) and Buddhapālita's commentary on the same work called the Mūla-madhyamakā-vṛtti was edited by the same scholar (1913-14). The texts of Nāgārjuna's Vigrahavyāvartanī and Āryadeva's Śata-śāstra were edited after the Chinese version by G. Tucci (G.O.S., 1929). The Ālambana-parīkṣā of Dinnāga ("One of the foremost figures in the history of Indian logic") was edited after the Tibetan text along with a translation in German by E. Frauwallner (1930), while his Nyāya-mukha was translated into English from its Chinese and Tibetan versions by G. Tucci (1930). His Nyāya-praveśa was reconstructed from Haribhadra's commentary and the Chinese and Tibetan versions by N. D. Mironov (1931). To Th. Stcherbatsky belongs the credit of editing the Nyāya-bindu of Dharmakīrti with Dharmottora's commentary (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1918), and with the sub-commentary of Mallavādin (1909) as well as that of publishing its translation into Russian (1903) and into English, *Buddhist Logic*, Vols. 1 and 2 (1930). The Tibe-

tan version of the same work with Vinītadeva's commentary was published by L. de la Vallée Poussin (*Bibl. Ind.*, 1908—1913). Among other works by the same author, the Santānāntara-siddhi with Vinītadeva's commentary was edited by Th. Stcherbatsky (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1916) and translated with explanatory notes by the same scholar (1922). His Sambandha-parīkṣā (Tibetan and Sanskrit texts) with the commentary of Śankarānandana and his Kṣaṇabhaṅga-siddhi were translated into German by E. Frauwallner (1934, 1935). The Madhyamakāvatāra of Candrakīrti was edited after the Tibetan version by Vallée Poussin (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1912) after having been translated with the author's commentary into French by the same scholar (1907—11). Among still later works, Śantideva's Śikṣā-samuccaya was edited by C. Bendall (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1902) and was translated into English by C. Bendall and W.H.D. Rouse (Indian Texts Series, 1922). The Bodhicaryāvatāra by the same author was edited with the commentary of Prajñākaramati by Vallée Poussin (*Bibl. Ind.*, 1901—14). It was translated into French by Vallée Poussin (1907) and by L. Finot (1920), into German by Richard Schmidt (1923) and into Italian by G. Tucci. The Mongolian version of this work was published (*Bibl. Bud.*) in 1921. Selected texts of the Prajñā-pāramitā class of works were published by Max Walleser (1914) and G. Tucci (1923). Equal progress has been made in the publication of catalogues, dictionaries and bibliographies. An encyclopaedic dictionary of Buddhism after the Chinese and Japanese sources called Hobogirin was started in 1929 under the direction of S. Lévi and J. Takakusu and the chief editorship of Paul Demiéville. Three fasciculi of this work were published up to 1937. Mention may be made in this connection of *Index* of the *Tanjur* after the catalogue of P. Cordier, published by M. Lalou (Paris, 1933), *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts* in the library of the India Office (London) with a supplement of Buddhist manuscripts by F. W. Thomas (Oxford, 1935) and *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* by W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous (London, 1937). Above all, reference should

be made to the comprehensive work called *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, Dictionary, and Reader* (3 vols., 1953) by Prof. Franklin Edgerton, which is the first systematic study on the subject. A reference may also be made to the books on Buddhist bibliography—that of Hans Ludwig Held (*Deutsche Bibliographie des Buddhimus,* 1916), that of Arthur C. March (*Buddhist Bibliography,* 1935-36), and lastly, *Bibliographie Bouddhique* (1928—50) published in French.

Meanwhile the field of Buddhist Sanskrit studies was greatly enlarged by the discoveries of numerous records of the lost civilization of Central Asia by a series of international expeditions, beginning with the first journey of Sir Aurel Stein (1900—1901), financed largely by the Government of India. These discoveries have made possible the recovery of considerable fragments of the Sanskrit Buddhist canonical and non canonical literature in their original Sanskrit or in the different languages of Eastern Turkestan. As for the Sanskrit Buddhist records from Central Asia, selected Buddhist texts were edited by S. Lévi (*J. A.*, 1910) and by Vallée Poussin (*J.R.A.S.*, 1911, 1912, 1913). In *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature* (edited by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Vol. I, Oxford, 1916), Hoernle, Lüders, Pargiter and F. W. Thomas published with parallel versions the text and translation of the fragments, found in Eastern Turkestan, of no less than twenty-six Buddhist texts from the Sanskrit Canon, of which no less than twenty-one belong to the Vinaya and the Sūtrapiṭaka of both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna, while two are strotras of the celebrated poet Mātṛceṭa. In a series of publications in German called *Smaller Sanskrit Texts*, H. Lüders published the fragments of three Sanskrit Buddhist dramas, including the Śāriputra-prakaraṇa of Aśvaghoṣa (1911), as well as those of Kalpanā-maṇḍiṭikā of Kumāralāṭa (1926), while E. Waldschmidt edited the fragments of the Bhiksuṇī-prātimokṣa of the Sarvāstivādin school (1926) and the first volume of fragments of the Buddhist sūtras from the Central Asian Sanskrit Canon (1932). Other fragments of this Canon, with parallel texts

in Pali, Tibetan and Chinese, were published by H. Hoffmann (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1939). Fragments of the Sanskrit Udāna-varga of Dharmatrāta were published by R. Pischel (S.B.A., 1908), S. Lévi and Vallée Poussin (*J.A.*, 1910—12; *J.R.A.S.*, 1911—12). E. Waldschmidt published other fragments of the Sanskrit Canon with the parallel Tibetan and Chinese versions, namely, the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (3 vols., 1950—51) and the Mahāvadāna-sūtra (Part 1, 1953). The Sanskrit text of the Sata-pañcāśatika, a hymn of 150 verses, of the poet Mātṛceṭa was published with its Tibetan and Chinese versions and the Tibetan commentary by D. B. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, 1951). As regards the records preserved in the newly discovered Indo-European language of Central Asia, S. Lévi published with a French translation a series of texts in the 'Tokharian A' or more properly the 'Kuchean' dialect (Paris, 1933), while E. Sieg and W. Siegling edited another series of texts in the sister dialect called 'Tokharian B' or more properly Kara-shahrian (1921). Among the Buddhist records preserved in the newly discovered Soghdian and Khotanese, less properly called Śaka or North-Aryan, branches of the old Iranian language, fragments were published by E. Leumann in his German works called *North-Aryan Language and Literature* (1912), *Maitreyasamiti* (1919) and *Buddhist Literature, North-Aryan and German* (1920). Another work in German called *The North-Aryan (Śaka) Didactic Poem of Buddhism* was published with a translation, based on E. Leumann's work, by Manu Leumann (1933—34). Fragments of Buddhist manuscripts in Soghdian from the Turfan collection were published by W. Lentz (1934) out of the literary remains of F. W. K. Müller. The transcript and translation of Soghdian manuscripts in the British Museum were published by H. Reichelt in two volumes, of which the first volume (1928) deals with Buddhist texts. In his French work on Soghdian texts, E. Benveniste published twenty-three texts, mostly Buddhist, with translations and notes (1940). In the work, *Manuscript Remains*, mentioned above, Sten Konow pub-

lished two complete Khotanese manuscripts with an English translation and parallel Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. An edition of the Khotanese Dharmapada was published by H. W. Bailey (1945) and a volume of Khotanese Buddhist texts was edited by the same scholar (1951). Buddhist texts in Uigurian, an old Turkish language, were published by F. W. K. Müller in various German journals (1908—31). The Uigur text of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra was published by W. Radloff (*Bibl. Bud.*, 1913—15) and translated into German by the same scholar (1930). A series of texts was published (1930—31) by W. Bang and A. von Gabain in the series called Uigurish Studies and Uigurica.

In the East

1. *India.*—Among the factors which were largely responsible for directing the attention of the Indian intelligentsia towards the study of India's past, and particularly the study of the Buddha's life and that of the Buddhist religion, were the works of early Indologists like Sir William Jones (1746—94) and H. T. Colebrook who arrived in Calcutta in 1782. Later, in 1847, Christian Lassen published in German his work on Indian antiquities. The public interest received further stimulus through the discovery of sites connected with the history of Buddhism in northern India by explorers and archaeologists like Prinsep (1799—1843) and Cunningham. Works like *Buddha Gaya* (1874), *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (1882) and *Lalitavistara* (1887) by Rajendralal Mitra, the accounts of the travels of Sarat Chandra Das in Tibet and the publication by him of some Buddhist works also aroused considerable interest in Buddhist studies.

The Buddhist Text Society was founded in 1892 and work in the field of Buddhist studies started in Bengal. An account of the pioneer work done in this sphere in Bengal is given elsewhere in this chapter. Besides Sarat Chandra Das and Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan, Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri was also a stalwart in this field of scholarship. His *Bauddha Gāna O Dohā* (1716) made

Bengali scholars realize the need for Buddhist studies. *Advayavajra-saṅgraha*, a work he published in the Gaikwad Oriental Series (No. 60, 1927), contains twenty small works of Advayavajra, a teacher of the Ādikarmapradipa school of the 11th century. He also edited the Catuḥśatikā in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III. His works are especially valued for their learned introductions.

The work started by these pioneers in Bengal is being continued by several living scholars among whom may be mentioned Mahamahopadhyaya Vidhushekhar Shastri of Santiniketan and of Calcutta University. He is well known for his studies in Pali, Sanskrit and Tibetan. He wrote *Pali Prakāśa*, a Pali grammar in Bengali, *Pātimokkha* with notes in Bengali and a few chapters of the Milinda-pañha which were published in Bengali script with a Bengali translation. To him also goes the credit for having edited the Mahāyāna-viṃśikā of Nagarjuna, Āryadeva's Catuḥśatikā, which he retranslated into Sanskrit from Tibetan (Visva-Bharati, 1931), the Tibetan text of the Nyāya-praveśa (G.O.S. No. 39, 1927), the Bhoṭa-prakāśa (Cal. Univ., 1939), an excellent introductory book for a student of Sanskrit wishing to learn Tibetan and the Āgama-śāstra of Gauḍapāda (Cal. Univ., 1943), which according to him shows definite Buddhist influence. Furthermore, his *Basic Conception of Buddhism* (1934) is a very lucid exposition of the fundamentals of Buddhism. Even at his age he is working on the Sanskrit text of the Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra and it is expected that it will soon see the light of day.

Dr. B. C. Law, a veteran and versatile scholar in the various branches of Indology—Buddhism, Jainism, History, Geography and the Sociology of Ancient India—has to his credit more than fifty-five volumes. His *History of Pali Literature* in two volumes (1933) and his work on Buddhaghosa are well known to students of Pali literature. He has edited in Pali the Thūpavaṃsa (P.T.S., 1935), the Dāṭhāvaṃsa (text and English translation, 1925) and the Cariyā-piṭaka (revised edition, in the Bhandarkar Oriental Series, Vol. IV),

the last two in the Nagari script. He has also translated these texts. His independent books, *Study of Mahāvastu, Women in Buddhist Literature, Concept of Buddhism, India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, show keen insight. He has translated into English the Buddhavaṃsa, the Commentary on the Kathā-vatthu (*Debates Commentary*, 1940) and the Sāsanavaṃsa (1952). He has written memoirs on Śrāvasti, Rājagṛha, Kauśāmbī and Pañcālas as well as monographs on the Magadhas of Ancient India, Asvaghoṣa and on the Chronicles of Ceylon. His two books, *Tribes in Ancient India* (B.O.S., No. 4) and *Mountains and Rivers of India* are very useful to students of Ancient India. His collection of essays in *Indological Studies* (Parts 1—3, 1950—54), and his *Historical Geography of Ancient India* are also a mine of information for students of Indology. A striking characteristic of all his work is that he carefully supplies references to substantiate his statements.

The late Prof. Barua, a worthy colleague of Dr. B. C. Law, was the head of the Pali Department at Calcutta University for a number of years and we have already given some account of his works elsewhere. Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt was his successor. His *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna* (1930) gives to students of Buddhism a clear idea of the evolution of Buddhism from the simple teachings of the Buddha contained in the early texts of the orthodox school to the highly abstruse philosophical tenets of the Mahāyāna school. He has edited the Pañcaviṃśati Prajñāpāramitā (1934) and what is most creditable is the fact that he discovered and brought to light a large collection of Gilgit Manuscripts, which he has now published in eight volumes. The important texts contained in these voulmes are the Samādhirāja-sūtra and the Vinaya-vastu (unfortunately incomplete) of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda school. The latter text is a remarkable discovery as it brings to light a Sanskrit text of the Vinaya corresponding to the Pali Vinaya. A comparative study of these two Vinayas reveals clearly the chronological relation between the two, namely, that the Sanskrit text

is indicative of a later and more developed form of the monastic institution of the Buddhists. From the linguistic point of view also, these texts reveal that they must have been based upon some Pali-Prakrit original as the idioms used in them are those of Pali-Prakrit texts. As in the case of several Buddhist Sanskrit works, they reveal incorrect Sanskritization of the Pali-Prakrit words. Care has been taken by Dr. Dutt to supply corresponding Tibetan readings at places where the Sanskrit original is not clear. He has also given indexes but one is rather disappointed at their meagreness. His *Early Monastic Buddhism* in two volumes (1941—45) will be found readable even by laymen. He has also published the first three chapters of the Sphuṭārthā-abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā. He has edited another Buddhist text, the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, for the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series (1952), with N. D. Mironov's readings from the Central Asian Manuscripts.

The University of Calcutta has produced several Buddhist scholars. Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, the former Director-General of Archaeology, has to his credit *L'Udānavarga Sanskrit* (Paris, 1930). Prof. Satkari Mookerjee has given us *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux* (Calcutta, 1936). The late Dr. P. C. Bagchi has given us *Studies in the Tantras* (Cal. Univ., 1939) and two works on Sanskrit Lexicography (*Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, 1929, 1937). His main work, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine* (1927, 1938), is highly useful inasmuch as it gives us information about the books in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal has added to our knowledge of Buddhism in Greater India by his *Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan* (1928) and by his highly informative article, "Progress of Greater Indian Research (1917—42)", in the *Progress of Indic Studies* (Poona, 1942). Nagendranath Vasu has written *Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa* (Cal. Univ., 1911). Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee has made a study of the different sects of Buddhism and given the Sanskrit text of the Prātimokṣa of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda school from a Gilgit

manuscript (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1953). Dr. B. R. Chatterjee tells us how Indian culture, both as Brahmanism and Buddhism, penetrated into Cambodia in his *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* (1928). Prof. R. C. Majumdar treats the same subject in his books, *Champā* (1937) and *Suvarṇadvīpa* (1938). He has recently published in Nāgarī characters *Inscriptions of Kambuja* (1953) which throws light on the condition of Buddhism in that country. Dr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray has written *Sanskrit Buddhism* (1936) and *Theravāda Buddhism* (1946) which deal with Buddhism in Burma. R. C. Mitra of Santiniketan gives us the history of the decay of Buddhism in his *Decline of Buddhism in India* (1955) while Prof. Gokuldas De has written a book, *Democracy in Early Buddhist Saṅgha* (1955). Manindra Mohan Bose has given us an account of the later forms of Buddhism in Bengal in his *Post-Chaitanya Sahajiya Cult of Bengal* (1930). S. Yamakami's book, *System of Buddhistic Thought* (1912), traces the growth of thought in Buddhist philosophy of both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna schools.

In order to popularize the study of Pali books generally, some texts were printed in Bengali script and several were translated into the Bengali language. Among the former may be mentioned the Thera-gāthā, the Therī-gātha, the Majjhima, the Mūla-paṇṇāsaka, the Mahāvagga, the Buddhavaṃsa, the Dīgha, Vol. I, the Pācittiya, and the Udāna published by the Buddhist Mission in Rangoon. Among the Bengali translations are those of the Jātakas by Ishan Chandra Ghosh, of the Dhammapada by Charu Chandra Ghosh, of the Thera and Therī-gāthā by Bejoy Chandra Majumdar, of the Suttanipāta by Bhikku Shala Bhadra and of the Udāna and the Majjhima. This shows that even common people are interested in reading Pali books in translation, if not in the original.

Among the important centres of Buddhist studies in eastern India are Santiniketan in West Bengal and Patna and Nalanda in Bihar. Under the direction of Prof. Vidhushekhar Shastri in the early years and of the late Dr. P. C.

Bagchi since 1945, research in Sanskrit-Tibetan and Sanskrit-Chinese studies was conducted at Cheenabhavan and Vidyabhavan, two well-known research institutions. Several valuable papers and books have appeared in the Visva-Bharati Series and the Visva-Bharati Studies since 1932; in the Visva-Bharati Annals since 1947; and in the Sino-Indian Studies since 1945. In Vol. V of Visva-Bharati Annals a scholarly study by Shri K. Venkatramanan has appeared in the form of an English translation of the Sāmmitīya-nikāya-śāstra. In the volumes of Sino-Indian Studies Dr. Bachow (now at Ceylon University) has given us comparative studies of the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta and of the Prātimokṣa-sūtra[1]. Prof. Aiyyaswamy Shastri has retranslated into Sanskrit several Tibetan and Chinese translations of original Sanskrit texts that have disappeared. Some of the important works of this type are the Ālambana-parīkṣā and its Vṛtti by Dinnāga (1942), the Sālistamba-sūtra (1950), the Karalalaratna of Bhāvaviveka (1949) and the Dvādaśamukha-śāstra (1955) of Nāgārjuna. Prof. Shantibhikshu Shastri has written *Mahāyāna* (1950) in Hindi and has given his own Sanskrit rendering of the Chinese translations of Vasubandhu's Bodhicittotpāda-sūtra-śāstra (1949), of Ghoṣaka's Abhiddharmāmṛta (1953) and the first two chapters of the Jñāna-prasthāna, to be followed by the rest. Shri Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya has given us the Tri-svabhāva-nirdeśa (1939) of Vasubandhu, the Śārdūla-karṇāvadāna (1955) and a Bengali translation of Śāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra (1947).

Prof. Pralhad Pradhana of Orissa has given us a Devanāgarī edition from an incomplete manuscript of the Abhidharma-samuccaya (1950). It is understood that he has also prepared a Devanāgarī edition of the Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya from a manuscript now at Patna in the collection of Rahul Sankrityayan. This is expected to be published soon by the Kashiprasada Jayaswal Research Institute of Patna. Another manuscript from the same collection, the

1. This has now appeared as a separate volume, published (1955) by the Sino-Indian Society, Santiniketan.

Abhidharma-pradīpa, is being edited for that Institute by Prof. Padmanabh Jaini of Banaras. In 1953 that Institute published the Pramāṇa-vārtika-bhāṣya or the Vārtika-alaṅkāra, edited by Rahul Sankrityayana, and the Dharmottara-pradīpa of Durveka, edited by Prof. Malvania. Other Vinaya texts of the Lokottaravāda school—the Bhikṣu-prakīrṇaka and the Bhikṣuṇī-prakīrṇaka—have been traced to the same collection and it is understood that Dr. A. D. Altekar, Honorary Director of that Institute, is taking steps to have them published in the near future. Another Buddhist Sanskrit Tāntric text, the Ratnagotra-vibhāga, has been edited by Dr. Johnston and published in Patna.

The Government of Bihar has started a Pali Institute at Nalanda under the direction of the Rev. Jagadish Kashyap and the Government of India has entrusted to it the work of publishing the Pali Tripiṭaka. The first work undertaken by the Institute is the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya.

In Uttar Pradesh, the workers of the Mahābodhi Sabhā at Sarnath have given us several Buddhist texts—both Pali texts in the Devanāgarī script and Hindi translations of Pali books. The great explorer, Rahul Sankrityayana, with the help of his colleagues, Anand Kausalyayana and Jagadish Kashyap, has given us in Devanāgarī characters eleven books of the Khuddaka-nikāya, with the exception of Jātaka, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidā and Apadāna. Rahul Sankrityayana has also given us a Hindi translation of the Dīgha-nikāya, the Majjhima-nikāya and the Vinaya (the Pātimokkha, the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga). In addition he has written in Hindi a book entitled *Buddhacaryā*, which includes a life of the Buddha, along with Hindi translations of several Pali suttas. The Rev. Ananda Kausalyayan has given us a Hindi translation of 500 Jātakas in six volumes which have already been published. The rest are expected to follow shortly. The Rev. Jagadish Kashyap has translated into Hindi the Milinda-pañha (1937) and the Udāna (1938) and given us an excellent edition of the Moggallāna-Vyākaraṇa along with its Hindi translation (1940). Bhikshu Dharma-

ratna is credited with a Hindi translation and a Devanāgarī edition of the Suttanipāta (1951). The first 150 Jātakas have been edited by Bhikkhu Dhammarakkhita and brought out by the Bharatiya Jñāna-pīṭha in Devanāgarī characters (Banaras, 1944). The Saṃyutta-nikāya has been translated into Hindi in two volumes by Bhikshus J. Kashyap and Dharmarakshita. The latter has also translated the Dhammapada with illustrative stories. The Therī-gāthā in Hindi by Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, the Pali Jātakāvali by Batuknath Sharma and the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, text and Hindi translation, by Bhikshu Kittima (Sarnath, 1941) are other important publications.

In the field of Sanskrit Buddhist books, Rahul Sankrityayana has made an effort to restore the Abhidharma-kośa-kārikā (1931) with the help of Yaśomitra's commentary, Sphuṭārthā-abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā, and with the help of the notes in Louis de la Vallée Poussin's translation of the Abhidharma-kośa-kārikā with a bhāṣya. He has also given the Sanskrit texts of the Vādanyāya (1936), the Pramāṇavārtika and the Vārtikālaṅkāra (Patna, 1953), besides publishing *Buddha-darśana* in Hindi. On the same subject there exists a very fine book in Hindi, *Bauddha Darśana-mīmāṃsā*, by Pandit Baldeva Upadhyaya (Chaukhamba Series, Banaras, 1954) and *Saugata Siddhāntasāra-saṅgraha* with a Hindi translation by Dr. Chandradhar Sharma (Banaras). The late Acarya Narendradeva, another scholar of Uttar Pradesh, prepared a Hindi translation of La Vallée Poussin's French translation of the Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya. Only the first chapter of this book has been printed so far. Dr. Herbert V. Guenther of Lucknow University has tried in his book, *Yuganaddha* (Chaukhamba Series, 1952), to remove certain misconceptions about the exact import of what appear to an uninitiated reader to be corrupt Tāntric practices. Like Anagarika Govinda, he points out the symbolic nature of various statements in the Tantric texts. Anagarika Govinda, who has adopted this country for his mother-land, has shown us the psychological nature of the

Buddhist philosophy of Abhidhamma in his Patna University Lectures for 1927 (*The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy*). In his *Some Aspects of Stūpa Symbolism* (Kitabistan, Allahabad), he has revealed certain secrets in the construction of Buddhist stūpas and given their symbolic interpretation. Prof. T. R. V. Murti, now of Banaras Hindu University, has given a study of the Mādhyamika system in his *Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (1955).

Dr. Chou Hsiang Kuang, Head of the Chinese Department of Allahabad University, recently gave us *A History of Chinese Buddhism* (1955), which tells the story of Indo-Chinese relations since the introduction of Buddhism in China. It throws light on the state of Buddhism in different parts of China and its rise and fall through the centuries. The life of Yuan Chwang is a useful appendix to the book, but it is disappointing that no index has been given.

Dr. Raghu Vira, of the International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur, recently undertook tours of exploration in China, Mongolia and Central Asia and is reported to have been successful in securing copies of a translation of the Chinese Tripiṭaka into the Mongolian and Manchurian languages and in securing several Mongolian paintings and statues.

Bombay, Poona and Baroda are the active centres of Buddhist studies in western India. Elsewhere is given an account of the life of the late Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi, the pioneer of Buddhist studies, especially in Pali, in western India. His pupils have been working at all these centres, and with the sympathy and encouragement given to Buddhist studies by the late Sayajirao Maharaja, the ruler of Baroda, several books were published in the Gaikwad Oriental Series under the direction of B. Bhattacharya. There have also been published some texts of Buddhist logic and philosophy like the Nyāyapraveśa (1930), edited by A. B. Dhruv, *Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Works on Logic* (1930) from the Chinese by Prof. Tucci, the Tattva-saṅgraha (1926)

of Śāntarakṣita, edited by Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya, with its translation (1937, 1939) in separate volumes by Dr. Ganganath Jha. Some Tāntric works, too, such as the Advayavajra-saṅgraha (1927), edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, *Two Vajrayāna Works* (1929), Śrī-guhyasamāja-tantra (1931), and the Sādhana-mālā (1925, 1928), edited by B. Bhattacharya have been brought out in the same series. B. Bhattacharya also published a book entitled *Buddhist Esoterism* (1932). Prof. C. V. Joshi has given us *Manual of Pali* for Pali students. He has also edited for the Pali Text Society the Saddhammappakāsinī (1933–47), the commentary on the Paṭisambhidā-magga, translated several Jātaka stories into Marathi and written a life of the Buddha for children. In addition, he has edited the Marathi translation of the Dīgha-nikāya, Vols. II and III, by the late Prof. C. V. Rajwade.

The University of Bombay has undertaken to publish Pali books in the Devanāgarī script for the use of University students, under the general editorship of Prof. N. K. Bhagvat of St. Xavier's College. Of the ten books so far brought out, the Milinda-pañha, edited by Prof. R. D. Vadekar of Poona, is generally considered to be the best. The remaining works, the Nidānakathā (of the Jātakas), the Mahāvaṃsa, the Dīgha (Vols. I and II), the Majjhima, the Thera-gāthā, the Therī-gāthā and the Mahāvagga in two volumes have all been edited by Prof. Bhagvat himself. He has also brought out editions of the Khuddakapāṭha, the Dhammapada (published by the Buddha Society, Bombay), the Paritta, a few selections from the Jātakas (Jātaka-kathā-sandoha), and the Buddhaghosuppatti.

Prof. P. V. Bapat, successor to the late Prof. Dharmanand Kosambi at Fergusson College, gave as early as 1924 a critical edition of the Suttanipāta in Devanāgarī characters, with parallel passages culled from Otto Franke's work on the same subject. The book also contains extracts from the commentary, an introduction and several indexes. Later, in 1939, Prof. Bapat published *Vimuttimagga and Visuddhi-*

magga: *A Comparative Study.* In collaboration with Prof. R. D. Vadekar, his colleague at Fergusson College, Prof. Bapat brought out critical editions in Devanāgarī of the Dhamma-saṅgaṇi (1940) and the Aṭṭhasālinī (1942) in the Bhandarkar Oriental Series (paras 2 and 3), accompanied by introductions and indexes. As a result of research at Cheena-bhavan at Santiniketan, Bengal, he translated into English the Chinese version of the Arthapada-sūtra (1945, 1950), corresponding to the Pali Aṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta, which was also included in Devanāgarī characters on the opposite pages. In the article, 'Shan-Chien-pi-p'o-sha', he published the results of his comparative study of the Pali commentary on the Vinaya, entitled Samanta-pāsādikā and its Chinese version translated by Saṅghabhadra towards the end of the 5th century A.D. (*University of Ceylon Review*, April 1949). A second edition of his Suttanipāta has appeared with a Marathi translation by Prof. Dharmanand Kosambi revised by him in the Dharmānand Swārada Sāhitya (No. 4, 1955). The most important of his scholarly articles such as "Tādi, Tāyi, Tāyin" in *D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* (I, pp. 249—258, 1940). "Nekkhamma" in *B. C. Law Memorial Volume* (No. 2, pp. 260—66, 1946), "Saptāṅga-pratiṣṭhita" in *Radha Kumud Mookerjee Volume* (1945), "Paliatthika" and "Sārāṇīya" in *Vāk* (1951, 1952) are of lexicographical interest. Another article by him in "Siddha-bhāratī" (*Siddheshvar Varma Memorial Volume*, 1950) deals with the close relation between the Pali and Vedic languages. An article by him on Middha and Middhavādins appeared in *F. W. Thomas Commemoration Volume* (1939). Another major work, which is soon to be published, is an English translation, made in collaboration with the late Prof. J. H. Woods of Harvard University, of the famous encyclopaedic work of the Visuddhimagga by the Pali scholiast, Buddhaghosa.

Prof. R. D. Vadekar, whose name has already been mentioned, has to his credit a Devanāgarī edition of the Pāti-mokkha (Bhandarkar Oriental Series, 1939) and the Milinda-

pañha (Bombay University Devanāgarī Pali Texts Series).

Dr. V. V. Gokhale, also of Fergusson College, has specialized in Mahāyāna studies in Tibetan and Chinese. He published his thesis on the Pratītya-samutpāda of Ullaṅgha (Bonn, 1930), translated into Chinese by Dharmagupta and Amoghavajra. The original Sanskrit Kārikās, an incomplete commentary by an unknown author (1940), of Nāgārjuna's Pratītya-samutpada-hṛdaya, were discovered by him at Lhasa (1950) and are in his possession. These have now been edited and are being published in German in the Kirfel Commemoration Volume at Bonn. He has tried to restore into the original Sanskrit a Madhyamaka text, the Akṣara-śataka of Āryadeva, with the help of the Tibetan and Chinese versions. He has also given us a full text of the Abhidharma-kośa-kārikā (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1946), based on an actual manuscript of the Sanskrit text. He tells us about a Brāhmī inscription carved in stone discovered in Tun-huang (Sino-Indian Studies, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 19—23). He published, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay (Vol. 23, 1947), fragments from the Abhidharma-samuccaya of Asaṅga. The Subāṣita-ratnakośa of Vidyākara, a Buddhist anthology of more than 1,700 verses, dating from about the 11th century A.D. is being edited jointly by him and Prof. D. D. Kosambi and will soon be published in the Harvard Oriental Series with the co-operation of Prof. Ingalls of Harvard University.

Prof. P. L. Vaidya has tried to restore the Sanskrit text of the Catuḥśataka, Chapters VIII—XVI, from its Tibetan translation. He has written a book in Marathi on the origin and spread of Buddhism (*Bauddha Dharmācā Abhyudaya āṇi Prasāra*, Poona, 1927). He is now engaged in publishing representative passages on Buddhism from the Pali and Sanskrit texts and it is expected that his work will soon be published under the title *Bauddhāgamārtha Saṅgraha*.

Scholars from South India have also been working in the field of Buddhist studies. The first chapter of Dinnāga's

Pramāṇa-samuccaya has been given in Sanskrit (1930) by H. R. R. Aiyangar of Mysore. In his *Early History of the Andhra Country* (1941) Gopala Chari has given a good deal of information about Buddhist sects in the Deccan and Andhra. Dr. K. R. Subrahmaniam has written a memoir, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra* (1932), while Dr. T. N. Ramchandran has contributed a fine memoir on Nāgarjunakoṇḍa (1938). Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Mahamahopadhyaya Swaminath Aiyar and Prof. N. Aiyyaswamy have shown from the Tamil poem, *Manimekhalai*, how Buddhism dominated the people of Tamilnad at one time. T. Ganapati Shastri's discovery of the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa and its publication in the Trivandrum Series reveal that Tantrism existed in South India also. Dr. P. C. Alexander of Shri Narayan College, Quilon, has traced the history of Buddhism in south-western India right down to modern times in his book, *Buddhism in Kerala* (Annamalainagar, 1949), in which he proves that Buddhism flourished in that region up to the ninth century A.D. Unfortunately, the universities in South India do not appear to have taken too kindly to Pali or Buddhist-Sanskrit studies.

2. *Ceylon*[1].—Owing to the domination of the Portuguese, Dutch and British since the invasion of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1505, Buddhism fell to such a low ebb that Kittisiri Rājasingh (1746—1779 A.D.), the ruler of the Kandyan Province, had to send emissaries to Siam to find Buddhist Elders for the re-establishment of the higher ordination in Ceylon. Other groups went with a similar purpose to Burma, at the beginning of the 19th century and thus were established in Ceylon three fraternities—Siamese, Burmese (Upper Burma), and Rāmañña (Lower Burma). The British captured the island in 1815 and the evils of foreign rule were in no way mitigated. The education of the young was left to Christian missionaries. None the less, two prominent schools of Buddhism were established by the Vener-

1. The author is indebted to the Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta of Ambalangoda, Ceylon, for much of the information in this account.

able Piyaratanatissa of Dodanduwa. A controversy took place between the Christians and the Buddhists in which the latter were triumphant. Colonel Olcott read an account of this controversy in the newspapers and came to Ceylon in 1880. He himself became a Buddhist and encouraged local Buddhists to establish their own schools. He exercised considerable influence over the younger generation and founded the Theosophical Society of Colombo which now controls over 350 Buddhist educational institutions including some first-grade colleges. Two religious schools of the old system of education for monks were established—the Vidyodaya Oriental College, Colombo (1872), and the Vidyālaṅkāra College at Kelaniya (1873) near Colombo. There are now more than 200 institutions connected with these colleges which are still engaged in educational work. The venerable elders saw the necessity of having Pali literature printed for the people and books were thus published both in Pali and Sanskrit. The publication of the Mahāvaṃsa and its translation into Siṃhalese were undertaken by the Venerable H. Sumangala, the Principal of the Vidyodaya College, and Pandit Batuwantudawe. The Abhidhānappadīpikā, a Pali lexicon, and the Nāmamālā were edited by the Venerable Subhūti. At the request of Sir Robert Chalmers, then Governor of Ceylon, the commentary on the Majjhimanikāya was edited by the Venerable Dhammārāma, the second Principal of the Vidyālaṅkāra College. The Venerable Seelakkhandha of Śailabimbārāma, Dodanduwa, wrote *Saddharma-makaranda*. (Kolhapur, 1914), a life of the Buddha in Sanskrit and commentaries on the Bhakti-śataka (Darjeeling, 1896), written by Paṇḍita Rāmacandra Bhāratī (middle of the 13th century A.D.) who had become a Buddhist, and on the Aniruddha-śataka. He also edited the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa-kośa, the Daivajña-kāmadhenu and the Vṛttaratnākara-pañjikā which were published in India in Devanāgarī script.

Under the influence of Colonel H. S. Olcott, a young enthusiast, called David Hewavitarane, who later came to

be known as Anagarika Dharmapala, felt the urge to strive for a revival of Buddhism. He lectured to rural audiences in Ceylon and later came to India. It was his religious fervour and missionary zeal that led to the founding of the Maha Bodhi Society in 1891.

Simon Hewavitarane, the youngest brother of Anagarika Dharmapala, left a large legacy which was to be used for the printing and publishing of Pali books. So far 49 volumes of commentaries on the canonical texts of the Pali Tripiṭaka have been published. Among the published texts are the Cariyā-piṭaka (1950), the Pārājikā, the first volume of the Vinaya-piṭaka (1950), the Dhammasaṅgaṇi (1952), and the Jātaka Pali (gāthā, 1954).

Stray volumes of the Tipiṭaka and commentaries were also published at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, but most of these books and commentaries, including those in the Simon Hewavitarane Series, are now out of print. The Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī (1933) and the Atthasalinī-mūla Ṭīkā (1938), published in the Vidyodaya Ṭīkā Publication Series, may also be mentioned. In the Mānatunga Series, too, there appeared three volumes of the Dīgha-nikāya (1929). One very interesting ṭikā on the Samanta-pāsādikā, the Vimati-vinodanī by Coliya Kassapa, was edited and indexed by Dr. H. Gabriel de Silva (1935). It had been preceded by the Sārattha-dīpanī (1914), another ṭīkā on the Samanta-pāsādikā, which, however, remained incomplete.

It is now planned to publish afresh the Texts and their Siṃhalese translations under the direction of Prof. G. P. Malalsekera, who is well known for his *Pali Literature of Ceylon* (London, 1928) and for his *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* in two volumes (1937-38). A complete edition of the Cullavagga and portions of the Dīgha and the Saṃyutta-nikāyas have already been published with Siṃhalese translations. As the Siṃhalese translations of the Pali Texts are in great demand, Dr. A. P. de Soyza, a zealous Buddhist, has published translations of the Dīgha, the Majjhima and the

Saṃyutta while a translation of the Aṅguttara-nikāya is in progress. With the foundation of the University of Ceylon, particularly since Ceylon achieved independence, new scholars have begun to enter the field. N. A. Jaya Vikrama has contributed a fine critical commentary on the Suttanipāta (*University of Ceylon Review*, 1948—50). Prof. O. H. de Wijesekera has correlated Pali studies with studies in earlier Vedic literature and his papers on Yakṣa, Gandharva and Indra, as well as some from his former pupil, Charles Godage (*University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. I, No. 2, November 1943, and Vol. III, April 1945), deserve to be read. In 1946, Dr. Adikaran published his *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* which is based on original sources in the Pali Atthakathās.

Old style scholars among the monks have also given us some fine books. The Rev. Widurapola Piyatissa wrote *Mahākassapa-carita* (1934) and *Mahānekkhamma Campū* (1935), edited the Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā in ten volumes, and wrote commentaries on the Netti-pakaraṇa and the Saṃyutta-nikāya. The commentaries published in the Simon Hewavitarane Series are also written by learned Elders.

In order to popularize the study of Pali among schoolchildren, it was necessary to simplify the teaching of Pali grammar. In 1912 the Rev. Suriyagoda Sumangala compiled a graduated Pali course, on the model of Bhandarkar's *Sanskrit Readers in India*. The Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta, who was given the title of Agga-Mahāpaṇḍita by the Burmese Government in 1954, published *New Pali Course*, Parts I (1937) and II (1939), *Higher Pali Course*, *Aids to Pali Conversation* and *Concise Pali-English Dictionary* (1949). The Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta has become famous for his edition of the Visuddhimagga (1914) and of the Apadāna (1930) in Siṃhalese characters and for his editions, for the Pali Text Society, of the Nāmarūpa-pariccheda (1914), the Abhidhammāvatāra (1915), the Sammoha-vinodanī commentary on the Vibhaṅga (1923), the Vinaya-uttara-vinicchaya (1928), the Saddhamma-pijjotikā (3 vols.) and the commentary

on the Niddesa. He has written numerous scholarly books in the Siṃhalese language and recently brought out an English-Pali dictionary (1955). A similar work was prepared by the Rev. Nidurupolapiyatissa in 1949. He also recently edited the Visuddhimagga-gaṇṭhi, a small commentary in Siṃhalese characters explaining intricate points in that work. It was with his help that a copy of this manuscript in Burmese characters was obtained from a Burmese monastery near Ambalangoda. Dr. Vajira-ñāna Mahā Thera wrote a book entitled *Buddhism Outlined* in 1951. The Rev. Narada is an enthusiastic religious missionary and has visited India, the South-East Asian countries, Europe, Australia, East Africa, and Nepal. He has written several pamphlets, the most important of which are *Buddhism in a Nutshell, Kamma and Rebirth,* and *Buddhist Conception of Consciousness.* He has also written a life of the Buddha along with the text and translation of Chapter I of the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha. Several editions of the Dhammapada have appeared and one prepared by B. Siri Sivali (1954) is presented very attractively, the text being given in the Siṃhalese and Roman scripts on pages on the left and the translations in Siṃhalese and English on the right.

The Rev. Ñyānatiloka, a German Buddhist monk of the Dodanduwa Island, gave us a very useful book in his *Guide Through the Abhidhamma-piṭaka* (1938). He has also prepared a German translation of the Visuddhimagga which has so far been printed only in part. The Government of Ceylon has awakened to the fact that it, too, must encourage Buddhist studies. Accordingly, the task of publishing the Pali texts and their Siṃhalese translations has been entrusted to the Vidyālaṅkāra authorities. It has also been decided to bring out a Buddhist encyclopaedia and arrangements are being made for its preparation under the general editorship of Prof. G. P. Malalsekera, who has been elected President of the World Federation of Buddhists.

Incidentally, it may be observed that, under the guidance of Prof. G. P. Malalsekera of the University of Ceylon, Ceylon

has taken the lead in trying to bring all Buddhist countries together and to set up the World Fellowship of the Buddhists, which met in Ceylon (1950), Japan (1952) and Burma (1954). It proposes to meet for the fourth time at Kapilavastu, the birthplace of the Buddha in Nepal.

3. *Burma*[1].—As Burma was ruled by its own king right up to 1886, Buddhism continued to flourish in that country. The country has been known for a long time for its scholarly studies in the Tripiṭaka, especially the Abhidhamma. Its numerous monasteries contain rich collections of Pali manuscripts. Mandalay has always been its educational and religious centre and its monasteries possess many rare manuscripts. Burma can boast of two or three printing presses like the Hanthawady Press, the P. G. Mundyne Pitaka Press and the Zabu Meet Swe Press where Pali books, the Aṭṭhakathās and sub-commentaries on the Abhidhamma are printed. In Burma, there are, even among laymen, not a few studying the Abhidhamma. At the beginning of this century, the more notable among the learned monks of Burma was Ledi Sayadaw who had specialized in the Abhidhamma. He wrote on the Yamaka and selections from it, as well as his article, 'Philosophy of Relations', was published by the Pali Text Society in 1914 and in 1916. Only recently, two other great scholars passed away. One of them, Abhidhaja Mahā Raṭṭha-Guru Nyaungyan Sayadaw (1874—1955), was elected Saṅghanāyak, or the presiding Mahāthera. He has to his credit some 150 manuals on Buddhism among which are *Mahāsamaya-sutta, Brahmanimantaṇa-sutta, Hemavata-sutta, Sīlakkhandha-ṭīkā* and *Namakkāra-ṭīkā*. Another notable scholar was the Venerable Mingun Sayaḍaw (1868—1955) of Thaton who wrote *Milinda-aṭṭhakathā* (1949), *Peṭakopadesa-aṭṭhakathā, Kaṭhinavinicсaya* and *Nibbāṇa-kathā*. He was looked upon with great disfavour by the ecclesiastical authorities as well as the Government of Burma for having expressed in his com-

1. The author is indebted to Devaprasad Guha of the Pali Department of the University of Rangoon for certain details in this account.

mentary on the Milinda independent views regarding the possibility of giving women a higher ordination by the Order of the Buddhist Monks. Charles Duroiselle made a name for himself through his writings on various archaeological finds in Burma and also wrote a small book entitled *Practical Grammar*. Z. Aung's *Compendium of Philosophy* (1910), a masterly treatise, is an annotated translation of the small Abhidhamma manual, the Abbidhammaṭṭha-saṅgaha. Aung also wrote an account of Abhidhamma literature in Burma (1912). Later, he translated the Kathā-vatthu into English in *Points of Controversy* (1915). Mrs. C. Rhys Davids was his collaborator in the first and third of the works mentioned above. Prof. Maung Tin gave us the English translation of the Aṭṭhasālini in his *Expositor* (2 vols., 1920—21), and of the Visuddhimagga in his *Path of Purity* (3 vols., 1922—31). We may also mention the names of the late Ledi Pandit U. Maung Gyi and the late U. Lin who wrote on subjects relating to the Abhidhamma. Nor must we forget the Rev. Paññāloka Mahāthera who has written on Abhidhamma subjects in Bengali.

Since Burma became independent, the Burmese Government has taken swift measures to bring about the revival of Buddhism and Buddhist studies. A Buddha Sāsana Council has been established and under its auspices, or perhaps inspiration, several centres of Buddhist studies have been opened. It has also been decided to edit afresh the whole of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. Co-operation has been sought from learned Buddhist monks in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos. With the material supplied by these countries, the basic text, as recorded in 729 stone slabs at the Kuthodaw temple in Mandalay, was compared and a final text established. The Saṅgāyana (recital) of such a text has already passed through certain stages and the final stage will be completed on the 2,500th anniversary of the Lord Buddha's parinirvāṇa at the full moon of Vaiśākha in 1956. It is understood that the whole Pali text in Burmese characters is already in print and the Burmese translation of

the whole of the Tripiṭaka is nearing completion.

4. *Thailand.*—Buddhism is the State religion of Thailand and here it never fell on evil days as it did in Ceylon. The State has a separate administration for religious affairs and the Government spends large sums of money for the religious well-being of Buddhists, monks and laity alike.

There are two great institutes of higher learning for the Buddhist monks—the Maha Makut Rāja Vidyālaya Academy and the Maha Cūlalankarn Rājā Vidyālaya Academy. Sanskrit is now taught in Bangkok both at Cūlalankarn University and at the Academy for Buddhist Monks. Thailand has always been in the forefront of Buddhist studies and it is a matter of gratification that as many as forty-five volumes of the Pali Tripiṭaka, at least thirty volumes of the Aṭṭhakathās, and ten volumes of the Pakaraṇas have been published in Siamese script. A special feature of Siamese books is that they contain indexes, however meagre they may be.

It may be noted that the Vajirañāna Manuscript Library at Bangkok has a rich collection of manuscripts, some of which are extremely rare. There is a new commentary on the Visuddhimagga, the Sankhapattha-jotani which begins with the words *Svasti Buddhāya* (Hail to the Buddha!). In Thailand also is preserved a rare book, the Sangitivamsa, which mentions as many as nine councils.[1]

Pañcikā-nāma-aṭṭhayojanā, a work on the Abhidhammattha-vibhāvani (which itself is a ṭikā on the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha), is another rare printed book in two volumes which have an index. Another book, *Maṅgalattha-dipani* (1951—53), gives a detailed exposition of the gāthās of the famous Maṅgala-sutta and is highly spoken of in Thailand. Other important new books are *Jinakālamalini*[2] and *Samantapasadika-attha-yojana*. The very exist-

1. See Chapter IV, p. 51.

2. It is understood that this book has been edited by the Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta of Ceylon, and will be published in both Simhalese and Roman characters.

ence of these books is indicative of the importance of the study of Pali texts, commentaries and sub-commentaries in Thailand.

The Sixth Council now being held in Rangoon has induced some Burmese scholars to go to Thailand to preach the Abhidhamma.

5. *Cambodia*[1].—Although a very small country, Cambodia has always been a stronghold of Theravāda Buddhism. Under the patronage of His Majesty Norodam Sihanouk Varman (Narottama Simha-hanu Varman) who recently abdicated in favour of his father in order to be free to bring about all-round reform in his kingdom, and under the vigorous guidance of His Eminence Samadach Brah Mahā Sumedhadhipati Chuon-nath, Chief of the Mahanikāya, Cambodia has made rapid progress in organizing the education of the Religious Order and in the propagation of the Faith among the laity. This little country has as many as 2,800 monasteries with 82,000 monks and novices.

In 1914 the Government opened in Phnom-penh, the capital of Cambodia, a Pali High School, where young monks were instructed and given diplomas after four years' training. The instruction was not confined to religious subjects but also included subjects useful in the temporal world. This school has now developed into a college. In 1933, the authorities began to establish elementary Pali schools where the monks took a three years' course. Out of these schools have now developed the schools of Dhamma-Vinaya, where all monks are trained. This year a Buddhist University named after Preah Sihanu-Raja has also been started.

To supplement this programme of religious instruction in Phnom-penh a Royal Library was opened in 1925 and a

1. The author is grateful to the Venerable Brah Gru Sanghasattha of the Buddhist College at Phnom-penh for the material on which this account is based. Thanks are also due to His Eminence Samdaçh Choun-nath, Chief of the Mahanikaya in Cambodia through whose courtesy the material was made available.

Buddhist Institute in 1930. A little later, the Government appointed a Tripiṭaka Board consisting of eminent scholars, who were asked to prepare for publication Pali texts and their Cambodian translations. The literary output of these institutions is highly creditable. Out of the 110 volumes contemplated in the bilingual series, 46 have already been published. A copy of all the texts of the Pali Canon written by hand was sent to the Sixth Council (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana) now in session at Rangoon. Among the other ten volumes published in Pali (1938—54), are the Abhidhamma-mātikā (1953), the Chappakaraṇa Abhidhamma (1950), the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha (1938), the Bhikkhupātimokkha (1950), the Visuddhimagga (1946) and the Maṅgalattha-dīpanī (1952). No fewer than 187 volumes, mostly on religious subjects, have been published in the Cambodian language by the various libraries and institutions already mentioned.

Clearly, Cambodia has made tremendous progress in the popularization of Pali studies and in the education of the monks.

6. *Laos.*—Laos is mostly mountainous and comparatively backward. Although the country belongs to the Theravāda school and the Pali Tripiṭaka forms its sacred literature, it has few Pali scholars. It appears, however, that there exist in Laos many texts which are word-to-word commentaries or Nissayas of the Pali texts. In Luang-prabang, the capital, in a small temple on the hill, there is a library of manuscripts in which we find a Laotian Nissaya of the Visuddhimagga. It begins with the words *Namo tassa (Bhagavato) atthu* instead of the usual formula of *Namo tassa Bhagavato Arhato Samma-sambuddhassa* (Bow to the Blessed, the Deserving and Fully Enlightened Buddha).

In this country, the Jātakas enjoy great popularity and separate collections of ten and of fifty Jātakas are available. The order of the ten Jātakas, however, differs from that in Fausböll's edition. There is also a collection of fifty Jātakas

which is current in other countries in South-East Asia, such as Siam, Cambodia and Burma. What is peculiar to the independent Laotian version, however, is that it contains 27 stories which are not found in any other collection.[1] Lists of the Jātakas in the collection of the ten and fifty are given below:

The Ten Jātakas

1. Temiyakumāra
2. Janakakumāra
3. Suvaṇṇasyāma
4. Nimirāja
5. Mahosadha
6. Bhūridatta
7. Candakumāra
8. Nāradabrahma
9. Vidhurapaṇḍita
10. Vessantara

The Fifty Jātakas

1. Samuddaghosakumāra
2. Suddhamukumāra or Sutarājakumāra
3. Śudhanakumāra
4. Sirasākumāra
5. Subhamittarāja
6. Suvaṇṇasaṅkha
7. Candaghātaka
8. Suvaṇṇamiga
9. Suvaṇṇakuruṅga
10. Setamūsiko
11. Tulakapaṇḍita
12. Māghamāṇava
13. Ariṭṭhakumāra
14. Ratanapajjota
15. Sonandakumāra
16. Bārānasī
17. Dhammadhajapaṇḍita
18. Dukkammakumāra
19. Sabbasiddhikumāra
20. Paññābalakumāra
21. Dadhivāhana
22. Mahisakumāra
23. Chaddanta
24. Campeyyanāgarāja
25. Bahalāgāvī
26. Kapila
27. Narajīvakumāra
28. Siddhisārakumāra
29. Kusarāja
30. Jeṭṭhakumāra
31. Duṭṭharājakumāra
32. Vaṭṭakarājā
33. Nārada
34. Mahāsutasoma
35. Mahābalarājā
36. Brahmaghosarājā
37. Sādirājā
38. Siridharasetthī
39. Mātuposaka or Ajitarājā

1. See Henri Deydier, *Introduction a la Connaissance du Laos*, Saigon, 1952, p. 29.

40. Vimalarājā
41. Arindumarājā
42. Viriyapaṇḍita
43. Ādittarājā
44. Surūparājā
45. Suvannabrahmadattarājā
46. Mahāpadumakumāra
47. Surasenarājā
48. Siricundāmaṇīrājā
49. Kapirājā
50. Kukkura

In the collection of ten Jātakas, the Temiya and the Vessantara are popular. There is also a sutta called the Jambupattisutta, which is peculiar to this country and is portrayed in the wall paintings of the Library building on Val Pha Ouak, the hill in Luang-prabang. King Jambupatti, wishing to dazzle the Buddha, visited him in great state, but saw the latter sitting on his throne, beautiful as a god and dressed in the shining apparel of a King of Kings (Rājādhirāja). This represents the conception of the Buddha as the equal of a Cakravartī monarch. In a scene depicted in a wall painting in this temple, the Buddha is represented as pointing to Jambupatti the torments he must suffer if he does not follow the principles of the Vinaya.

7. *Viet-Nam (including Viet-Minh)*[1].—Buddhism was probably introduced in Viet-Nam towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. when it was under the sway of the Chinese Emperor. Buddhism in this country went through many vicissitudes with changes in the political situation. The country of Viet-Nam belongs to the Mahāyāna school which it inherited from China and even the religious books used by its monks and nuns in the monastic establishments are in the Chinese language. With the coming of French rule and the introduction of Roman script in the schools, the younger generations ceased to read books in Chinese script, which used to be easy for them as the Viet-Namese language differs from Chinese only in pronunciation.

1. The material for this account was kindly supplied by Mr. Mai Tho Truen, President of the Association of Buddhist Studies, South Viet-Nam, Saigon, through the courtesy of Monsieur Louis Mallret, Director, Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Saigon.

In the first third of the twentieth century, there arose a new movement for the revival of Buddhism and Associations of Buddhist Studies were started at Saigon (1931), Hue (1932) and Hanoi (1932). The new movement favoured the use of the Viet-Namese language in Roman script for their religious books instead of Chinese. An awakening took place among the monks and the laity and there was a movement to spread knowledge among the masses. However, the Second World War (1940—45) interrupted all these efforts. With the return of peace, renewed efforts at reorganization were made in 1948 at Hanoi in northern Viet-Nam with the inspiring initiation and guidance of Their Eminences, the Reverends To-Lien and Tri-Hai. They started an orphanage, a private college (at Quan-su Temple in Hanoi), and a printing press to enable them to carry on the movement and popularize it among the masses. A number of religious books in Viet-Namese or in a bilingual series (Chinese letters with their Viet-Namese pronunciation in Roman characters) were published. We find several such books of daily prayers or books held in great reverence by the people, such as the Kṣitigarbha-sūtra (Nanjio, 1003) or the Sūraṅgama-sūtra (Nanjio, 399). Journals like Giác-Ngộ were published and became popular. Hanoi being the cultural centre of Viet-Nam, the movement spread from there towards Hue (in central Viet-Nam) where Buddhist Associations were also reorganized. A former empress has started a new school for young nuns where vigorous training is given and such activities as gardening are included. In Saigon, too, a new organization for Buddhist studies was established in 1950 to replace an old one.

In literature, also, we often find echoes of ideas borrowed from Buddhism—karma, rebirth, suffering in the world, the law of causation and impermanence. The intelligentsia is no longer content with the materialism of the West and is greatly influenced by the five rules of morality (Pañca-śīla) which are the very foundation of Buddhism. The common people find solace in the worship of Amitābha. There is

also a section of people who are followers of the Pure Land sect. The ideals of purity and compassion, the dominant notes of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and the vegetarianism of the monks impress the people. Though Mahāyāna Buddhism is dominant in the country, of late a desire is noticeable among certain people for a return to the earlier form of orthodox Buddhism (Theravāda). A new temple of this Theravāda school, the Jetavana Vihāra, has been established in Saigon by the Venerable Vaṃsarakkhita and the Venerable Nāgathera. Recently some relics were taken to this temple by the Rev. Nāradatthera of Ceylon for worship. The Venerable Vaṃsarakkhita Thera published (1953) a small manual of prayers and a manual of guidance for householders in Pali with its transcription and interpretation in Viet-Namese.

8. *China*[1].—During the reign of the Manchu Kings of the Ching Dynasty (1644—1911), Buddhism experienced vicissitudes of fortune according to the favours or frowns of the ruling kings. During the reign of Emperor Chien-Lung (1735—1796), a new Dragon edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was brought out. In the same period Mongolian translations of 270 volumes of the Tibetan Tanjur and a Manchurian translation of the Chinese Tripitaka were printed, although in the second half of the Ching period Buddhism declined in China. Towards the end of Manchu rule, China was fast coming under the influence of the West and Buddhist studies experienced a revival in China. The work of Christian missionaries also had a stimulating effect on the minds of the rising generation, thus giving a fillip to research and study in general.

In 1875 A.D., Liu Chih-tien, Minister for China in Great Britain, persuaded a promising young scholar, Yang Wen-hui, to go with him to England. There Yang came in contact with the Rev. Bunyiu Nanjio of Japan, who with his help prepared the famous Catalogue of the Chinese Tripi-

1. This account is based on Chou Hsiang Kuang's *Indo-Chinese Relations*, and *History of Chinese Buddhism* (1955).

ṭaka. Yang obtained from Japan many valuable books which had been lost in China. In 1907, he established a Buddhist Institute called Jetavana Vihāra at Nanking, where he gathered round him some thirty young men who took up Buddhist studies as their course of higher education. His contemporaries, K'ang Yu-wei and Tan Szutung, young intellectuals who advocated reform in Confucianism, were also affected by Buddhism. After the National Revolution of 1911, the Buddhists of China formed the All-China Buddhist Association with headquarters at Nanking and, in the fourth year of the Chinese Republic, they secured protection for their monasteries from the Ministry of Home Affairs, who issued a proclamation to that effect. Monasteries and temples were reconstructed and efforts were made to popularize Buddhism by organizing lectures and printing and circulating Buddhist books. The Buddhist Upāsaka Grove and the Buddhist Association of Pure Land in Shanghai were established. A monastic normal school and a university of the Dharmalakṣaṇa school were established at Nanking. Other institutions established were the Kuan Tsung Preaching Hall of Ningpo, the Avataṃsaka College of Ch'ang Chow, the Buddhist Institute of Wuchang, the Sino-Tibet Buddhist College founded by His Holiness the Rev. T'ai-Hsu, the Ching-ling Buddhist Academy, now at Shanghai, and the Cheen Institute of Inner Learning at Nanking.

Some journals such as *Haicchao Ying* (*The Ocean Tide Voice*), *Pure Land Vocation* and *Inner Learning Journal* were founded. The two Boards set up at Peking and Tien-tsin for the purpose of engraving the canons published *Epitome of the Chinese Tripiṭaka.* The Kalavinka Vihāra of Shanghai published several small volumes of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. The Commercial Press of Shangai has done the photographic printing of the supplementary books of the Japanese Tripiṭaka and of the Dhāraṇīs in the Tripiṭaka of the Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchurian languages. The Rev. T'ai-Hsu (1888 –1947), who was a

great living force in the revival of Buddhism and Buddhist studies, gave a scientific turn to the religious training of a Buddhist monk. He sent some of his disciples to Ceylon and India to study Pali and Sanskrit. He himself founded a Bodhi Society in Shanghai, became the Chairman of the Buddhist Reformation Committee and began reforming Chinese Buddhism and organizing the Chinese Saṅgha. The Rev. Fa Fang, one of his prominent disciples, stayed at the Vidyālaṅkāra monastery near Colombo, Ceylon, and at Cheenabhavan in Santiniketan, India, and studied Pali. He also wrote a book on Vijñānavāda in Chinese. The Rev. Pai Hui, Fa Fang's disciple, studied Sanskrit at Santiniketan. Upāsaka Ou-yang Ching-wu (1871—1943), a layman, was an eminent Buddhist scholar who studied Buddhism under the guidance of Yang Wen-hui. Among his works are a commentary on the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra and prefaces to the Mahāprajñāpāramitā, the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, the Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra and the Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra. His explanatory discourses to the disciples of the Cheen Institute of Inner Learning which he had founded himself were also published. The scientific spirit in which the Rev. T'ai-Hsu conducted his Buddhist studies has been maintained in modern China by his disciples, Lu-chen, T'ang Yong-Tung and Chen Ming-hsu. The Buddhist movement is now being led by young graduates who in one way or another are connected with institutions started by the Rev. T'ai-Hsu and Upāsaka Ou-Yang Ching-wu.

The Chinese Buddhist Association of Peking seems still to be active. It recently held (May, 1953) a conference of Buddhists in the Quang-chi temple, where Buddhists came from different provinces, including Tibet, South-West China, and Yunan, and from Thailand.

9. *Japan.*—As a Buddhist country, Japan has encouraged Buddhist studies throughout the ages, but it was only in the 18th century that these attained wide popularity. Tominaga Chuki's (1715—45) study on Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Venerable Jiun's (1718—1807) Sanskrit studies are among

the important works of this period that show a critical approach.

The pioneers of modern research were B. Nanjio (1848 – 1927) and K. Kasahara, both of whom studied Sanskrit under Prof. Max Müller in England. B. Nanjio introduced to Japan the new method of study which he had learnt in England. Unfortunately, however, Kasahara died on his return to Japan. The examples of these two scholars were a source of great inspiration to later Buddhist scholars.

An attempt has been made here to give a brief general survey of the progress of Buddhist studies in Japan with special reference to Indian Buddhism.

With the adaptation of the European educational system after the Meiji Restoration (1868 A.D.), several universities, colleges and research institutes came into being, some of which, for example, the Otani, Ryukoku, Komazawa, Taisho, Koyasan, and Rissho, were devoted mainly to the advancement of Buddhist studies.

Nanjio introduced Sanskrit classes at Otani University and this marked the beginning of research societies in Japan. Today, the universities at Tokyo, Kyoto, Tohoku, Kyushu, Nagoya, Hokkaido and Osaka also hold Sanskrit seminars.

A number of research institutes are attached to particular Buddhist sects. There are also several institutes which specialize in Oriental studies in general, including Buddhism. Among these the most important are Toyobunka-Kenkyujo (The Oriental Cultural Research Institute), attached to the University of Tokyo, Jinbunkagaku-Kenkyuje (The Research Institute of Sciences and Humanities), attached to the University of Kyoto, Toyo-bunko (The Oriental Research Institute) in Tokyo and the Okurayama Cultural Research Institute in Yokohama.

Indogaku-Bukkyogakukai (The Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies), which holds an Oriental conference every year and issues a journal twice annually, was founded in 1951.

The work of the Pali Text Society in London greatly

influenced the outlook of Japanese scholars. Following its example, the gigantic task of translating the Pali Canon into Japanese was undertaken and completed in 65 volumes under the supervision of J. Takakusu, a former professor of Tokyo University, and M. Nagai, also a retired professor of Tokyo University. Japanese scholars have shown remarkable zeal and a special capacity for the comparative study of Pali texts and Tibetan and Chinese translations of Buddhist canons, which has gone a long way in correctly interpreting early Buddhism and its development. C. Akanuma, a Professor of Otani University, was one of the most outstanding scholars of Pali Buddhism. His *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (Nagoya, 1931) and *Comparative Catalogue of the Pali Canon and its Chinese Versions* have been hailed as works of great learning. The Samanta-pāsādikā was edited by J. Takakusu and M. Nagai, while *Ethics of Buddhism* was published by S. Tachibana of Komazawa University. Anesaki's *The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese* is also a famous work.

The study of Pali Buddhism has now developed into that of the Āgama, the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya. Each of these branches is under the supervision of a competent scholar. Funahashi, of Otani University, is working on the Agama, R. Higata, of Kyushu University, on the Jātaka, K. Mizunu, of Komazawa University, and G. Sasaki, of Otani University, on the Abhidhamma and U. Nagai on the Vinaya.

The study of Sanskrit was introduced in Japan with research on Mahāyāna Buddhism. Nanjio published a Sanskrit text of the Vajracchedikā in 1881, and that of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha in collaboration with Prof. Max Müller in 1883. Amongst his other publications are the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (*Bibl. Bud.*, Vol. 10, 1909—1912), the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (Kyoto, 1923) and the Suvaraṇa-prabhāsa (Kyoto, 1931).

A number of Sanskrit texts were edited by U. Wogihara, a former professor of Taisho University.

Among these, the most important are the Bodhisattva-bhūmi (Tokyo, 1930), the Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā (Tokyo, 1932), the Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka (Tokyo, 1932—35) and the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (Tokyo, 1934). Wogihara also published the Mahāvyutpatti, in a Sanskrit-Chinese edition, in 1915. Other Sanskrit texts edited by Japanese scholars include the Sumagadhāvadāna by G. Tokiwai (1897), the Bhadracārī by K. Watanabe (1912), the Madhyāntavibhāga-ṭīkā by S. Yamaguchi (Otani, 1934), the Gaṇḍa-vyūha by D. T. Suzuki and H. Izumi (1934—36), the Daśabhūmīśvara by R. Kondo (1936), and the Mahāvyutpatti, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese edition, by R. Sakaki, a former professor at Kyoto University (1916).

Their knowledge of the Chinese Canon and their faculty of criticism in regard to the text has enabled Japanese scholars to produce a number of philological and philosophical works on Mahāyāna and Abhidharma Buddhism. In this connection, mention may be made of the works of T. Kimura, H. Ui, D. T. Suzuki and other well-known scholars. Kimura's introductory works on early Buddhism, Abhidharma and Mahāyāna Buddhism are still read with interest. *Studies in Indian Philosophy* (6 vols.), which work includes the study of Buddhist philosophy, forms the most important work of H. Ui. Recently this author published the Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi; a comparative study of the commentary on the Triṃśikā by Sthiramati and the Vijñapti-mātratāviṃśatikā, a comparative study of Sanskrit texts and four Chinese translations. D. T. Suzuki is the distinguished author of *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (1930), of an English translation of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, and an index to it, besides other works G. Honda, at one time a professor at Kyoto University, was an authority on the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra. S. Yamaguchi's philological studies and S. Miyamoto's philosophical studies on the Mādhyamika school are important works on the subject.

Studies in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka were introduced in Japan through the efforts of several monks, namely, E. Kawaguchi,

E. Teramoto, T. Tada and B. Aoki, who visited Tibet to acquire a knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism. The important works in this field include *A Catalogue of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka* (2 vols., Tohoku University, 1934), *A Catalogue of Kanjur* (Otani University, 1930—32) and *A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism* (1954).

The comparative study of Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions of various texts has made great progress in the last twenty years. The texts which are based upon their Tibetan versions are the Mahāyānasaṅgraha-śāstra, edited by G. Sasaki, a former professor of Otani University, Sthiramati's Triṃśikāvijñapti-bhāṣya, edited by E. Teramoto (Otani University), the Ārya-śrīmālā-sūtra, by K. Tsukinowa (Ryukoku University), and the Sandhinirmocana-sūtra by K. Nishio (Otani University).

The study of Tibetan Buddhism is being pursued by such experts as S. Yamaguchi, G. Nagao (Kyoto), H. Hatano (Tohoku), S. Yoshimura (Ryukoku) and several others.

Studies on the Chinese Tripiṭaka and Chinese Buddhism are also receiving serious attention. The most important work in this field is *The Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo* (85 vols., 1918—25). Among the catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the most famous is *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* by B. Nanjio, 1883. *Table du Taisho-Issaikyo,* attached to the Hobogirin (Tokyo, 1931), is also useful. The bibliographical study on the Chinese version is crystallized in *Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten* (The Dictionary of the Buddhist Bibliography) by G. Ono (12 vols., 1933—35).

Based upon *Taisho Issaikkyo* were published two kinds of Japanese translations, *Kokuyaku Issaikyo* (150 vols., Tokyo, 1928—35) and *Kokuyaku Daizokyo* in 28 volumes.

Buddhist dictionaries of various kinds were compiled, including *Bukkuo Daijiten* by T. Oda (1 vol., 1917), and *Bukkyo Daijiten* by S. Mochizuki (6 vols., Tokyo, 1931—36). A unique work in this field is *Daizokyo Sakuin* (an index of the Canon) in 3 volumes by K. Kawakami, 1927—28.

S. Murakami, a former professor of Tokyo University, E. Ma-e-de also of Tokyo University, S. Mochizuki, at one time professor of Taisho University, B. Shiio, a former professor of Taisho University, and B. Matsumoto, a former professor of Kyoto University, are among those who published studies on Buddhism based on the Chinese versions of the texts.

The study of Chinese Buddhism proper has also been popular in Japan. D. Tokiwa, K. Sakaino, and K. Tabuki are distinguished scholars in this field. Several important works were written on Zen Buddhism by H. Ui, D. T. Suzuki, and K. Nukariya, a former professor of Komazawa University. Recently a study of Central Asian Buddhism was undertaken by R. Hatani, a retired professor of Kyoto University, J. Ishihama of the same University and several other scholars. A research expedition was sent to Central Asia under K. Otani, and this has brought to light important archaeological material on the subject.

Lastly, we may refer to some important works on Japanese Buddhism itself.

Studies on Japanese Buddhism in recent times show remarkable progress in their critical approach. Of the two aspects of the study of Japanese Buddhism, one consists only in historical research while the other relates to Buddhist thought. A very well-known work of historical research is Z. Tsuji's *A History of Japanese Buddhism*, in 10 volumes. In the field of Buddhist thought, S. Shimaji, a former professor of Tokyo University, was a pioneer, while S. Hanayama, also of Tokyo University, has published important works on the subject.

The philosophies of Shinran, Dogen and other founders of Buddhist sects are also held in great esteem by the non-Buddhist philosophers of Japan and other countries.

CHAPTER XV

Buddhism in the Modern World

A. Cultural and Political Implications

In order to determine the cultural and political implications of Buddhism in the modern world we must first define Buddhism itself, and ascertain the general nature of its relation to culture and to politics. A glimpse of the cultural achievements of Buddhism during its twenty-five centuries of history, and of its political status and influence in the same period will be helpful in understanding the cultural implications of Buddhism today, not only in the East but also in the West, besides grasping its current political implications for Asia and the world at large.

The Nature of Buddhism

Buddhism, or more accurately, the Dharma, may best be defined simply as the means to enlightenment. The Buddha himself compares it to a raft. Just as a raft, after being fashioned out of grass, sticks, branches and leaves, serves to cross over great stretches of water and is then abandoned, so the Dharma, by means of which we ferry over the waters of birth and death to the other shore, nirvana, is not something to be taken with us but something to be left behind.[1] In short, it is not an end in itself, but only a means to an end. In modern parlance, its function is purely instrumental and therefore its value only relative. This of course does not mean that it can be dispensed with. When we have arrived safely on the other shore, the raft

1. **Majjhima-nikāya I, 134.**

may indeed be abandoned; but so long as we remain on this shore, or are still paddling across the stream, it is indispensable.

The pragmatic nature of the Dharma is emphasized in the words addressed by the Blessed One to his foster-mother and aunt, Mahāpajāpatī Gautamī, who had asked him to give her a precept, hearing which she might dwell "alone, solitary, ardent and resolved". The Buddha replies, "Of whatsoever teachings, Gotamid, thou canst assure thyself thus: 'These doctrines conduce to dispassion, not to passions: to detachment, not to bondage: to decrease of (worldly) gains, not to increase of them: to frugality, not to covetousness: to content, and not discontent: to solitude, not company: to energy, not sluggishness: to delight in good, not delight in evil': of such teachings thou mayest with certainty affirm, Gotamid, 'This is the Dharma. This is the Vinaya. This is the Master's Message'."[1] It is for this reason that the Mahāyānists were not only able to say, with Aśoka, "Whatever the Blessed One has said is well said", but also "Whatever is well said is the word of the Buddha".[2]

The means to enlightenment comprise three groups of practices. Ānanda, questioned about the Master's teaching some time after the mahāparinirvāṇa, tells his interrogator, a young brāhmaṇa, that the Blessed One taught śīla, samādhi, paññā, and gives an explanation of each of these terms in turn.[3] According to the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, these three groups had, in fact, formed the substance of the farewell discourse delivered by the Buddha at the various places through which he passed in the course of his last journey.[4] Śīla, or ethics, traditionally consists of the five precepts incumbent upon all Buddhists, both monks and

1. Vinaya, II, 10.

2. Adhyāśayasaṃcuḍana-sūtra, Śikṣā-Samuccaya of Śāntideva; translated by Cecil Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse, London, 1922, p. 17.

3. Dīgha-nikāya, I, 10.

4. Dīgha-nikāya, II, 3.

laymen, as well as the 227 or 250 binding upon Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monks respectively, and various special precepts observed by the Bodhisattvas. In samādhi, or meditation, are included mindfulness and self-possession (sati-sampajañña), contentment (santuṭṭhitā), the overcoming of the five hindrances (pañcanivāraṇa), the attainment of the four (or eight) stages of superconsciousness (jhāna) by means of one or more of the forty classical supports of concentration (kammaṭṭhāna), and the development of various psychic powers (iddhi). Paññā (Skt. Prajñā), generally rendered as wisdom, includes all the doctrines of Buddhism, that is to say, teachings relating to the conditioned co-production (pratītya-samutpāda) of phenomena, the three characteristics (trilakṣaṇa) of mundane existence, the four noble truths (āryasatya), universal emptiness (sarvadharma-nairātmya), the three kinds of reality (svabhāva), mind only (citta-mātratā), and the three bodies of the Buddha (trikāya). Through each of these three stages in turn must the disciple pass in order to attain nirvāṇa. While some of the practices enumerated under śīla and samādhi are found in other traditions, the doctrines which constitute the conceptual formulations of prajñā are peculiar to Buddhism.

Buddhism and Culture

Culture, which is derived from a Latin word meaning 'tilling', can be looked at from three principal points of view. First of all, it is the act of developing the moral, intellectual and aesthetic nature of man through education and discipline. Secondly, it is that familiarity with and taste in the fine arts, humanities and broad aspects of science, that enlightened and refined state or temper of mind, which such education and discipline tend to induce. Thirdly, it is those activities and objects which are the effect in the artist, and the cause in the rasika, or savourer of a work of art, of the enlightenment and refinement referred to. Thus, culture comprises the act of cultivation, or education (literally a 'bringing out'), the thing cultivated, in this case

a mental state, and the fruits of such cultivation; in short, works of science and of art. Buddhism is obviously connected with culture in all three senses. But what is the nature of the connection between the two? Is it merely a historical and accidental relation having nothing to do with the essential nature of either Buddhism or of culture, or does it spring from some deep and hidden affinity? Buddhism, as we have seen, is the means to enlightenment, and as such threefold, consisting of śīla, samādhi and prajñā. In order to have an inner, as distinct from a merely outer, connection with Buddhism, culture must be able to function as a means to enlightenment. In other words, it must be possible for us to subsume it under the category of ethics, or of meditation, or of wisdom. Can this be done?

According to the Theravāda tradition, it can. Speaking of bhāvanā, or mental culture, Dr. C. L. A. de Silva, a distinguished exponent of this school, writes, "The volitions arising in the processes of thought during the time of learning the Dhamma Vinaya (the doctrine) or any arts, sciences and so on, too, are included under the heading of mental culture or bhāvanā."[1] Though the connotation of bhāvanā is on the whole more active than that of samādhi, the two terms are in the present context more or less synonymous. Culture may be subsumed under samādhi, the second of the stages of the path to nirvana, because, like the more direct and specialized methods pertaining to the practice of meditation, the arts and sciences also contribute to the purification, refinement and elevation of consciousness. This fact has been recognized, in practice, even if not in theory, by all schools of Buddhism. But since the fine arts, by reason of their greater emotional appeal, are able to heighten consciousness to a far greater extent than the sciences, it is with painting, music and poetry, rather than with mathematics and chemistry, that Buddhism is most intimately related.

This connection is twofold. Art may be either sacred

1. *The Four Essential Doctrines of Buddhism*, Colombo (1948), p. 155.

or profane. In the first case, art is deliberately used, in conjunction with other methods, as a means of rising to a higher plane of consciousness. The Buddha image springs to the mind as the best known example of this type of art. By fixing his mind on such an image, instead of on something that is not a work of art, the devotee is enabled to purify and refine his consciousness not only by the act of concentration itself but also by the aesthetic appeal of the image. Buddhist art, in which painting, sculpture, music and poetry, are all integrated into the spiritual tradition, and utilized, not merely as media of religious propaganda, but as objects of concentration and meditation, is one of the most effective means of heightening the consciousness ever devised by man. Profane art, or art which has no formal connection with the Dharma, though capable of producing an effect of the same kind is rarely able to produce it to the same degree. Not being reinforced and stabilized by the methodical practice of concentration, and having, as sometimes happens, no firm foundation in the moral life, whatever heightening of consciousness it is able to produce is of momentary duration only. For this reason art, though it may greatly assist and powerfully reinforce the practice of meditation, the second stage of the Path, can never be a substitute for it. Much less can art be a substitute for religion. The Dharma as a means to enlightenment comprises, as we have already seen, not only sila and samadhi, ethics and meditation, but prajna or wisdom. Even if it could be shown that art alone is capable of inducing the dhyānas, or states of superconsciousness, that it was capable of producing prajna would remain undemonstrated. Between samādhi and prajñā there is this difference, that the former, however high it may soar, is still mundane, whereas the latter is transcendental. Hence the Dharma, since it is not only ethics and meditation but also wisdom, does not merely include culture but transcends it.

However, Buddhism is traditionally associated not only with the sacred but also with the profane variety of art. By

this we mean that besides making direct use of art for meditative purposes it also recognizes the purifying and refining power of "a thing of beauty", and therefore not only tolerates but also encourages the independent cultivation of the arts. Thus we have not only the images of Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas but statues of yakṣas, yakṣiṇīs and apsarās, who. though belonging to the mythology of Buddhism, have nothing to do with its doctrine. Aśvaghoṣa composes an epic poem on the life of the Buddha; but Wang Wei sings of mountains, mists, and streams. Broadly speaking, the Mahāyāna, the liberal and progressive wing of Buddhism, was concerned more with the integration into the doctrine, as a supplementary means to enlightenment, of as many arts and sciences as possible. Thus, its art is on the whole sacred art. The Hīnayāna, which was somewhat conservative, pursued the cultivation of the arts and sciences parallel to the study and practice of the doctrine. Hence, its works of art are on the whole profane. To these generalizations there are, of course, many exceptions. The Mahāyāna has produced a great deal of profane art, while the Hīnayana has produced a great deal of sacred art.

Buddhism and Politics

The relation between Buddhism and politics is not quite so simple as that between Buddhism and culture. For, being concerned with the individual rather than with the group, culture is related to Buddhism as personal religion, but not to Buddhism as institutional religion. Moreover, Buddhism comprises, from the institutional point of view, two groups, one large and one small, the first being the community of lay believers, both male and female, the second the noble Order of monks. These two groups need not have the same kind of relation to politics. In order to understand clearly the relation between Buddhism, both personal and institutional, on the one hand, and politics in the various senses of the term, on the other, it would be necessary to investigate the relations between (a) the Buddhist doctrine and political

theories, (b) Buddhism and the State, (c) the laity and the government, (d) the Saṅgha and the government, (e) the individual monk and the government, (f) the layman and practical politics, and (g) the monk and practical politics.

(a) As far as our knowledge goes, the Buddha confined his attention strictly to questions of religious discipline, and refrained from making any pronouncement upon the relative merits of rival political theories and systems. During his lifetime, as is well known to historians, two types of government prevailed in north-eastern India, the monarchical and the republican; but the Buddha did not praise or condemn either. His statement that so long as the Vajjians, a confederacy of republican tribes, would "assemble repeatedly and in large numbers, just so long their prosperity might be looked for and not their decay"[1], cannot be regarded as favouring republicanism, any more than if he had said that King Ajātaśatru could, if he was clever enough, break the confederacy, his statement could have been interpreted as approving autocracy. He merely stated the facts of the case without passing any ethical judgement. On one point, however, the Buddha, and after him the entire Buddhist tradition, was quite explicit: the government must uphold the moral and spiritual law. Being the means to enlightenment, Buddhism naturally demands that the State should recognize the fact that the true goal of life is not to eat, drink and reproduce the species, but to attain nirvana, and that, therefore, it has the duty of providing for its citizens a political and social organization within which both monks and the laity can live in accordance with the Dharma. Between Buddhism, on the one hand, and any political theory which recognizes, either implicitly or explicitly, the supremacy of the moral and spiritual law and makes provision for its individual and collective application, on the other, there can be no disagreement. From the Buddha's social egalitarianism, as well as from his deliberate decentralization of authority in the Saṅgha, it may be inferred that a form of govern-

1. Dīgha-nikāya II, 73.

ment, in theory democratic, in effect aristocratic (for an intelligent electorate would naturally elect the best man), would be most in accordance with his Teaching. Buddhism has no objection to either a socialistic or to a capitalist state provided it makes provision not only for the material but also for the moral and spiritual well-being of its subjects.

(b) The nature of the relation between Buddhism and the State will vary in accordance with two factors, one being, of course, the nature of the State itself, the other the relative strength of the Buddhist population. In a predominantly non-Buddhist State, Buddhism would expect to enjoy the same rights as other religious minorities. That is to say, it would demand complete freedom to practise and propagate its tenets. Whether persecuted or tolerated, however, Buddhist citizens would always remain loyal to the State to which they belonged. In a predominantly Buddhist State, Buddhism would naturally expect official recognition as the State religion. Under democracy, the State is the people, and the government is only the agency through which the will of the people is carried out. If in their individual capacity the citizens support Buddhism it is only logical that they should do so in their collective capacity too. Also, Buddhism being divided not into sects but schools, its recognition as the State religion is attended by no difficulty. In Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Laos only the Theravada exists. In Mahāyāna lands, such as China and Japan, the laity generally respect and support all schools, and the State would do the same. Buddhist schools are tolerant, in fact, not only of each other, but also of non-Buddhist traditions.

(c) Not much need be said about the relation between the individual Buddhist citizen and the government, because Buddhism has no means of enforcing among its adherents uniformity of action in the affairs of secular life. It is true that Buddhism does not only inculcate certain principles but also indicates the main lines of their application; the details of the application are left

to be worked out by the individual Buddhist, each for himself. Buddhism exhorts, it does not command. It tells us, for example, that to take life is morally wrong; but it leaves us free to determine for ourselves whether the acceptance of this teaching obliges us to be a vegetarian or a conscientious objector. A Buddhist, however, should take an active interest in whatever concerns the material, moral and spiritual well-being of his fellow-citizens. In short, it should be his endeavour to live his social and political life in accordance with the Dharma.

(d) The relation of the Government to the Saṅgha is the same as that of the individual lay Buddhist to the individual bhikṣu: it is the Saṅgha-dāyaka, the patron and supporter of the Saṅgha. Just as it is the duty of the individual devotee to build temples and monasteries, publish religious books and periodicals, so it is the duty of the government of a Buddhist State to finance similar undertakings which, either because of the greatness of the cost involved or the complexity of the organization required to carry them out, are beyond the capacity of private citizens. In the same way, the relation of the Saṅgha to the government corresponds to the relation between the bhikṣu and the layman. Just as the monk, in his capacity of "guide, philosopher and friend", indicates to the lay devotee the path of righteousness, so it is the right and duty of the Saṅgha, in the person of its seniormost members, to advise the government not only on the propagation of the Dharma but also on its application to the social and political life of the nation. The Saṅgha must also be able to draw attention to and freely criticize deviations from the Dharma on the part of the government, the people, and the political leaders. Objection should not be levelled against such a connection between the Saṅgha and the government on the ground that "monks should not meddle in politics". Unless the Dharma is applied in the national life, it will gradually lose its hold over domestic life. Being concerned with the preservation of the Dharma, the Saṅgha is inevitably con-

cerned with its application also, whether to politics or any other sphere of life. And in any case, there would be no question of the Saṅgha's becoming involved in the rough and tumble of practical politics. Needless to say, it is unthinkable that the advice of the Saṅgha should ever tend to the promotion of anything but peace and prosperity, both at home and abroad. For whether it spoke to a king or to an emperor, to a President or to a Party Chairman, the Saṅgha would have but one message: "Never in this world does hatred cease by hatred: it ceases only by love. This is the Law Eternal."[1]

(e) The individual monk should have no relation with the government as government except through the Saṅgha, or with the consent of the Saṅgha. Unless there happens to be a separate portfolio for religious affairs, or a special provision for ecclesiastical councillors, as there is in Siam, he should not accept any office in the government, and even in such cases as these he should not accept any remuneration. A monk cannot be required to undertake any form of national service; neither is he liable to conscription. In a Buddhist State these rights would be recognized automatically. Monks suspected of committing offences against the civil and criminal law should, in a Buddhist State, first of all be tried by an ecclesiastical tribunal. If found guilty they should be disrobed and handed over to the civil court for further trial and punishment.

(f) Since the Buddhist layman is connected with the government, he is obviously obliged to take part in practical politics, and all that can usefully be said in this connection is that here, too, he should act in accordance with the Dharma.

(g) The monk, however, is under no such obligation. On the contrary, by virtue of the rules which, at the time of his ordination, he undertakes faithfully to observe, he is obliged to refrain from participation in practical politics. "One path leads to worldly gains, quite another path leads

1. Dhammapada, 5.

to nibbāṇa. Let not the bhikkhu, the follower of the Buddha, yearn for honour, but let him, on the contrary, develop dispassion."[1] In order to conform to this advice, the monk should not join, or support, or even vote for, any political organization. Neither should he participate in meetings or any other public functions of a political or quasi-political nature. For those members of the Saṅgha who feel, as some in Burma and Ceylon have felt in recent times, that their duties as citizens have a stronger claim on them than their obligations as monk, the only honourable course is to leave the Saṅgha. Enlightenment and elections cannot be won together.

The Cultural and Political Heritage of Buddhism

Since the heritage of Buddhism constitutes, in one way or another, the theme of practically everything that is discussed in these pages, all that need be done here is to indicate such broad trends and basic principles as relate to (a) culture, civilization and education, and (b) war and peace.

Since culture generally, and in particular the fine arts, can be subsumed under the heading of samādhi, or meditation, they may be included within the means to enlightenment. Culture is part of Buddhism. It is not an ornament on its apparel but one of the limbs of its body. Where Buddhism is, there is culture. Whither in the world Buddhism goes, thither goes culture too. This is, indeed, one of the most obvious lessons of the spread of Buddhism throughout Asia, and it is repeated here only because its significance for the modern world in general, and for modern India in particular, is not always sufficiently appreciated. Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Laos, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Ladakh received with Buddhism not only their religion but practically the whole of their civilization and culture. How much the introduction of Buddhism meant to the people of

1. Dhammapada, 75.

Japan, for example, has been clearly stated by Dr. D. T. Suzuki. Speaking of the eagerness with which they took up the study of the Dharma in the Nara period, he remarks, "Buddhism was to them a new philosophy, a new culture, and an inexhaustible mine of artistic impulses."[1] Again, speaking of the reasons which led the government of that period to build temples and monasteries, maintain monks and nuns, and erect a gigantic bronze image of Buddha Vairocana, he reminds one of the fact that "In those days the Buddhist temples were schools, hospitals, dispensaries, orphanages, refuges for old age; and the monks were schoolmasters, nurses, doctors, engineers, keepers of free lodges, cultivators of land, explorers of the wilderness, etc. When the community was still in a primitive stage of evolution the Buddhists were leaders in every sense, and the government naturally encouraged their activities."[2] The monks were also poets, painters, sculptors, carvers and metallurgists. Suzuki's statement, together with our own rider, is true not only of Japan but of all the other countries that have been mentioned. Is it not more than a coincidence that Milarepa, the greatest poet of Tibet, should also have been at the same time her most famous yogin, and that Siri Rahula, who occupies in Siṃhalese literature a corresponding position, should have been the Saṅgharāja of Ceylon? China alone, of all the nations of Asia, had developed a civilization and culture of her own prior to the advent of Buddhism; but even China is indebted to Buddhism, if not for her culture, at least for its finest flowering. Buddhism was, in fact, a spring wind blowing from one end of the garden of Asia to the other and causing to bloom not only the lotus of India, but the rose of Persia, the temple flower of Ceylon, the zebina of Tibet, the chrysanthemum of China and the cherry of Japan. Asian culture is, as a whole, Buddhist culture. Therefore, as Suzuki says

1. "Japanese Buddhism", *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (Third Series), Rider, London, 1953, p. 340.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 349.

at the conclusion of the article already quoted, "If the East is one, and there is something that differentiates it from the West, the differentiation must be sought in the thought that is embodied in Buddhism. For it is in Buddhist thought and in no other that India, China, and Japan, representing the East, could be united as one. Each nationality has its own characteristic modes of adapting the thought to its environmental needs, but when the East as a unity is made to confront the West, Buddhism supplies the bond."[1] The full significance of this declaration will emerge later. Here it would suffice to emphasize the fact that if the history of Buddhism in Asia has any lesson for the world today, it is that, in their long trek from the burning mark of the Gangetic valley to the gem-encrusted rocks of Ceylon in the South, the wind-swept uplands of Central Asia in the North, and the sun-confronting islands of Japan in the East, Buddhism, culture, civilization and education were inseparable friends and companions.

Hardly less striking is the almost invariable association of Buddhism with peace. The exceptions were not only extremely rare but of merely local importance. King Aniruddha of Burma made war upon the neighbouring kingdom of Thaton in order to seize a copy of the Tipitaka which the king of Thaton refused to have copied. This was, of course, not the most Buddhistic way of obtaining the precious documents. The monks of mediaeval Japan, who lived in huge fortress monasteries, raised and fought in their own armies, and for seven hundred years, until the destruction of their strongholds, Hieizan and Negoro, by the Nobunaga and Hideyoshi in the sixteenth century, were a menace to the secular arm.[2] Even the most industrious research has been unable to dig out from the two thousand five hundred years of Buddhist history, during which time

1. "Japanese Buddhism," *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (Third Series), Rider, London, 1953, p. 348.

2. Conze, *Buddhism : Its Essence and Development*, Bruno Cassirer (Oxford), 1951, p. 65; Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Routledge, 1954, pp. 55, 404.

it spread over more than a quarter of the land surface of the globe, as many as ten incidents of this kind. Not a single page of Buddhist history has ever been lurid with the light of inquisitorial fires, or darkened with the smoke of heretic or heathen cities ablaze, or red with the blood of the guiltless victims of religious hatred. Like the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, Buddhism wields only one sword, the Sword of Wisdom, and recognizes only one enemy—Ignorance. This is the testimony of history, and is not to be gainsaid.

But even admitting the close association of Buddhism with peace in Asia it may be questioned whether Buddhism was really the cause and peace the effect. Perhaps their association was fortuitous. Buddhism has a bloodless and Christianity a bloody record, it might be argued, not so much because of any difference between their teachings but because one was propagated among the warlike tribes of Western Europe and the other among the peaceable nations of Asia. The contention is unfounded. Tibet, before the introduction of Buddhism, was the greatest military power in Asia. The early history of Burma, Siam, and Cambodia shows that the people of those countries were originally of an extremely warlike, even aggressive, disposition. The Mongol hordes at one time overran not only the whole of Central Asia, but also India, China, Persia and Afghanistan, and thundered even at the gates of Europe. China exhibited at various periods of her history considerable military activity. The martial spirit of Japan is far from being subdued after nearly fifteen centuries of Buddhism. With the possible exceptions of India and China, the nations of Asia were originally no less pugnacious and predatory than those of Europe. Their subsequent peacefulness was due very largely to the influence of the pacific teachings of Buddhism. But one can hardly expect to be able to pacify turbulent and warlike nations by preaching to them a God of Battles. It may therefore be concluded that the association between Buddhism and peace is not fortuitous but

inevitable. Buddhism has been in the past, is at present, and will continue to be in the future, a factor contributing to the establishment of universal peace.

Buddhism and Culture Today

After four or five hundred years of comparative stagnation, the present century is witnessing a resurgence of Buddhism in many parts of Asia. In Japan this resurgence began as long ago as 1868, when the disestablishment of Buddhism at the commencement of the Meiji Era and the mild form of persecution which for some years overtook the religion and its adherents acted as a stimulus. A few years later Buddhism again raised its head in Ceylon, where the activities of Meggetuwatte Guṇānanda, H. Sumaṅgala and Col. H. S. Olcott precipitated a landslide in the direction of the national religion. Buddhist revival in India began as an organized movement in 1891, when Anagarika Dharmapala founded the Maha Bodhi Society. In China, the Buddhist awakening began with the work of His Eminence T'ai-Hsu, while the resurgence of the Dharma in Burma is associated with the name of another great scholar-saint, Ledi Sayadaw. Now, culture being subsumed under samadhi as part of the means to enlightenment, as has been seen already, the most important of the cultural implications of Buddhism today is, naturally, the fact that its resurgence and revival in Asia is sowing the seeds of an efflorescence of culture. Shoots are springing up in many places, and even a few scattered blossoms can be seen. Brief mention must therefore be made of the stimulus which Buddhism has given to culture in certain Buddhist countries of Asia and in India, the original home of the Buddha's teachings. Since from the East Buddhism has now spread to the West, some note must be taken of its cultural implications for that part of the world also

Of all the Buddhist countries of Asia, it is in Ceylon and Burma, perhaps, that Buddhism is now most triumphantly resurgent. The achievements of Ceylon, consider-

ing that it is a tiny island with a little more than five million Buddhist inhabitants, have indeed been remarkable. It gave birth to two great international Buddhist organizations, the Maha Bodhi Society and the World Fellowship of Buddhists. With the possible exception of Japan, Ceylon, out of her scanty resources, has sent abroad far more dharmadutas, or messengers of the Dharma, than any other Buddhist land. Her contributions to culture have been no less significant and far-reaching. Scholars like Coomaraswamy, Malalasekera and Buddhadatta, painters like Mañjuśrī Thera and George Keyt, and writers and poets like Siri Nissanka, Dhanapala and Tambimuttu are known and respected far beyond the confines of their native land. Within the country itself, the indigenous arts and crafts, customs and traditions are being revived. Link by link the chains of various alien and anti-Buddhist cultures, in which the Siṃhalese people had for centuries been fettered, are being snapped. With the attainment of self-government within the Commonwealth of Nations, Siṃhalese has begun to rival English in importance, and though modern Siṃhalese literature has not yet produced any figure of more than local significance there is every possibility of its doing so before long. Similar trends can be observed in Burma; her political independence has led not only to a sudden and striking resurgence of Buddhism but also to a revival of Burmese Buddhist culture. No international figure has, however, yet emerged, nor any religious or cultural achievements of more than national interest and value. If in Siam, Cambodia and Laos the resurgence of Buddhism and the revival of Buddhist culture are less noticeable, it is largely because, being less subject to foreign influence, neither Buddhism nor its associated arts, crafts, customs and institutions ever declined to the extent that they did elsewhere. A certain benumbing lethargy did, however, creep over these lands, and even though they may not have needed a revival, in the sense of bringing back to life something that was dead, they did need a more vigorous circulation of the blood. That such a

quickening of the pulse did eventually take place in the present century is demonstrated by the publication, in forty-five volumes, of the entire Pali Canon in Siamese script. This magnificent edition, known as the Royal Siamese Tipiṭaka, is still the only complete and uniform edition of the Theravāda Canon to have been printed in Asia. In Japan, which has been subject to the influence of modern industrial civilization to a far greater extent than any other Asian country, the resurgence of Buddhism has led not so much to a revival of Buddhist culture, which, here too, was never dead, as to an attempt to preserve and consolidate it amidst the essentially alien and hostile environment of modern life. Though that attempt seems to be succeeding on the whole, it is so great a drain on the spiritual vitality of Japanese Buddhism that there can be little energy to spare for fresh cultural achievements. Yet it is a Japanese, Dr. D. T. Suzuki, who through his writings and lectures exercises on European and American thought and culture a deeper and wider influence than any other Buddhist. In China, Tibet, Nepal and other parts of the Buddhist world, politics have temporarily assumed paramount importance, so that little can be said on the present cultural implications of Buddhism in those countries. However, the recent action of the People's Republic of China in presenting to Burma two grains of the Buddha's relic bones, one set of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, two suits of robes used by the Han and Tibetan monks, one alms bowl and one cane staff, is, perhaps not without significance.[1]

The revival of Buddhism which has been going on in India for the last sixty years, but particularly during the past decade, is one of the strangest and most striking events in the history of religions. Nowhere else in the world does one find a parallel case of a religion being revived centuries after its disappearance, not by the command of a despot, not as the result of foreign conquest, but simply because it is the will of the people. Yet this is what is happening

1. See *Sangāyana Bulletin*, Rangoon, April 1955, p. 2.

in India today. Less than a century ago Buddhism was unheard of in the land of its birth : if remembered at all, it was as an objectionable but fortunately extinct heterodoxy which had for a brief space troubled the placid waters of Brahmanism. Today it is a household word. Over the chair of the President of the Republic of India, in the House of the People, the message *dharmacakra pravarttanāya*, 'to turn the Wheel of the Dharma' flashes forth in electric light to the assembled representatives. At the very centre of the national flag as it floats over ten thousand public buildings, the same historic symbol reminds the nation not only of the sublime doctrine of the Buddha but also of the *dharma-vijaya* or Conquest by Righteousness of Aśoka. Similarly, the lion-capital of Aśoka, representing the fearless proclamation in the Dharma to the four quarters of space, has been adopted as the official seal of the Republic.

It is hardly necessary to insist that the revival of Buddhism is inseparably linked with a renaissance of culture. Such a renaissance has, of course, been going on in India for some time, and the revival of Buddhism, despite its importance, is by no means the only contributing factor. Indeed, from another point of view, the revival of Buddhism is itself part of the great movement for the regeneration of the religious, cultural, economic and political life of the nation that has been agitating the whole sub-continent for more than a hundred years. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to think that the revival of Buddhism in India is, for this reason, linked with the renaissance of culture only to the extent that it contributes to the renaissance of Indian, in the sense of non-Buddhist, culture. It is also linked with the renaissance of a culture specifically and distinctively Buddhist. This Buddhist culture, as far as its manifestations in India are concerned, is an integral part of Indian culture.

India has recognized the importance of studies in Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese for a full understanding of Buddhism and the subject has been discussed elsewhere.[1]

1. See Chapter XIV.

These naturally have had their effect on writers in the modern Indian languages, who either translated works on Buddhist from the original or were inspired to write independent books that reflect Buddhist thought. Rabindranath Tagore's magnificent invocations to the Buddha, his drama, *Natir Puja* (The Dancing Girl's Worship), and his narrative poem, *Abhisar*, are fine examples of the free handling of Buddhist themes. Other writers whose work has been deeply influenced by Buddhism include Yashpal, one of the greatest masters of the modern Hindi short story and novel, Gurubaksh Singh, whose *Asia dā Chāṇana*, a prose translation of Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia*, is regarded as a classic in modern Punjabi literature, and Kumaran Assan, one of the three greatest Malayalam poets of the twentieth century. But like hundreds of less well-known poets, dramatists and novelists, they are all Hindus who have been deeply moved by the sublimity of the Buddhist ideal and the beauty of its cultural manifestations. Only two or three Indian Buddhists have succeeded in carving niches for themselves in the temple of literary fame. Dharmananda Kosambi's numerous writings on Buddhist subjects—described elsewhere[1]—have secured him a name in Marathi literature, while the writings of Rahul Sankrityayan and Anand Kausalyayan are outstanding contributors to Hindi *belles-lettres*.

Hardly less stimulating has been the effect of Buddhist revival on the visual arts. Inspired by the frescoes of Ajanta, then newly discovered, and guided by the great art critic, E. B. Havell, the Bengal school of painting developed a style which, for the first time in centuries, handled Indian themes in a traditionally Indian manner. Both Abanindranath Tagore, and Nandalal Bose, the two great masters of this school, exhibited a marked fondness for subjects drawn not only from the life of the Buddha but also from Buddhist history and legend. Contemporary Indian art is, in many cases, only superficially Indian. The best known painters,

1. See pages 395-396.

one or two of whom enjoy international fame, derive their technique, style and inspiration almost exclusively from the latest European and American models. Those who remain faithful to the indigenous tradition and whose work is inspired by an awareness of spiritual values, regardless of their very high standard of achievement, seem unable to obtain anything like the recognition and appreciation they merit. Among these neglected artists are many whose work reflects deep Buddhist influence. There is, however, no professedly Buddhist painter of outstanding eminence. Once again the influence of Buddhism, deeply and subtly felt, penetrates far beyond the formal boundaries of Buddhism.

Though the Dharma is resurgent in Ceylon and Burma, and undergoing revival in India, the latest Buddhist renaissance has a long way to go before it reaches its peak. One swallow does not make a summer, and the cultural manifestations of Buddhist resurgence and revival, though at times strikingly beautiful, in comparison with the efflorescence of past ages do not yet amount to much more than two leaves and a bud. Even more so is this the case in Europe and America. Though Buddhism seems to have struck firm roots in Western soil, the roots have not had time to go very deep, and the cultural flowering which has so far taken place, perhaps prematurely, though beautiful, is inconspicuous. As in India, it relates chiefly to literature and the visual arts. Here too we must distinguish between non-Buddhist writers and artists whose work exhibits traces of Buddhist influence and the creations of those who, being professed Buddhists, derive their main inspiration from Buddhism.

From the historical point of view, perhaps the most striking feature of the Buddhist movement in the West is its absolute spontaneity. For reasons largely academic, about a century ago oriental religion and culture in general, and Buddhism in particular, started attracting the attention of Western scholars. Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese, and Tibetan became subjects of study at the universities. This led first to

the publication and then to the translation of a number of Buddhist texts. Though Csoma de Köros (1784—1849) was undoubtedly the inaugurator of Buddhist studies in the West, it is to the great French scholar, Eugene Burnouf, that the credit for having placed them upon a scientific basis belongs. Thereafter a number of distinguished savants devoted themselves to the study of Buddhism. Prominent among them were Max Müller, who besides editing the two well-known series, The Sacred Books of the East (in which a number of Buddhist works were included) and The Sacred Books of the Buddhists, himself edited and translated some important Buddhist scriptures, and T. W. Rhys Davids, who in addition to publishing texts, translations and what are still standard works on Buddhism, founded the Pali Text Society, which since its inception has published considerably more than one hundred volumes of texts and translations, as well as the famous dictionary. Hard on the heels of the scholars came the popularizers. Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia* (1879), easily the most widely known English book on Buddhism, and the stories and other writings of Paul Carus are the literary landmarks of this period. At the turn of the century Buddhism had begun to attract the attention not merely of philologists and historians but of men and women looking for a religion and a way of life more satisfying than Christianity. Schopenhauer, as early as the second decade of the nineteenth century, had declared himself a Buddhist, and his *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* had for more than half a century been popularizing a version of Buddhism all over Europe. But though of far-reaching influence, his was an isolated case, and it was only towards the end of the century that Buddhism began to strike root in the West. Buddhist groups sprang up in a number of European capitals and in many parts of the United States. The Theosophical Society, especially during the lifetime of its founders, also helped in the dissemination of Buddhism. At present the Dharma may be said to be firmly established in England,

Germany, France, and the United States. Though the number of adherents is still small, their sphere of influence is steadily expanding. Since the end of World War II, not a year has gone by without the publication of important books on Buddhism in at least one European language, and there is an increasing tendency for such books to be the work of practising Buddhists. References to Buddhism (not always intelligent) are becoming more and more frequent in modern literature and in the daily press. Rainer Maria Rilke, the greatest German poet since Heine, has written a beautiful sonnet on the Buddha[1], and John Masefield, the present Poet Laureate of England, a creditable narrative poem. T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) contains a striking reference to the Buddha's Fire Sermon[2] while the imagery of a short passage in Edith Sitwell's "The Coat of Fire" is derived from *The Tibetan Book of the Dead.*[3] W. B. Yeats'

> Hermits upon Mount Meru or Everest
> Caverned in night under the drifted snow[4]

are probably Buddhist hermits. Many of the poems rendered from the Chinese by Arthur Waley are Buddhist in theme or sentiment, and two or three of these have been included in anthologies of modern verse as English poems in their own right. The voluminous writings of Aldous Huxley, Bertrand Russell and Carl Gustav Jung, all of whom enjoy world-wide reputation, carry important and, on the whole, appreciative references to Buddhism. Jung's interest in Buddhism is, in fact, well known, while Russell has gone so far as to declare that if he were compelled to choose between the religions of the world he would choose Buddhism. None of the poets and writers so far mentioned are Buddhists, however, and a Buddhist has yet to make a name

1. *Neue Gedichte*, I, 1907.
2. Line 308.
3. *Selected Poems* (Penguin Books, 1952), p. 12, lines 23-25.
4. *Collected Poems*, Macmillan, 1950, p. 333.

for himself in modern European and American literature.

In the field of the visual arts the converse is true. While Buddhism seems to have had no influence at all upon modern Western painting and sculpture, the Buddhist movement in the West has already produced Buddhist artists of outstanding brilliance. Nicholas Roerich, who achieved international fame with his decor for Diaghilief's ballet version of Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*, subsequently produced, mainly under the inspiration of Tibetan Buddhism, of which he had direct knowledge, series after series of canvases marked by powerful composition, brilliant colouring and profound symbolism, and all not only bathed in "the light that never was on sea or land" but pervaded by a mighty rushing wind of inspiration which would have been demoniacal had it not been so divine. Earl H. Brewster, though in his later years he lost touch with Buddhism, produced his best work under its influence. Only his own retiring disposition prevented his sculptures and paintings of the Buddha from being more widely known. Like Roerich, Lama A. Govinda, who is not only an artist but a writer, scholar, thinker and mystic of no ordinary calibre, derives his main inspiration from Tibetan Buddhism. He is, in fact, a member of a Tibetan religious order, and his art is perhaps even more deeply and purely Buddhist than that of either Roerich or Brewster. Not without significance is the fact that all three artists eventually made their home in India. Roerich and Brewster spent their last years here, while Govinda still works in the shadow of the Himalayas. All three, again, have shown that in its westward no less than in its eastward movement Buddhist art can retain the spiritual elevation, the sheer sublimity, which has ever been its most striking and characteristic feature. The influence of Buddhism on Western music has been negligible. Mention should, however, be made of Berg's "Music for Wesak."

Buddhism and Politics Today

Though mere numbers have little cultural significance,

they do count politically, so that the political, unlike the cultural implications of Buddhism in the modern world, are necessarily confined to Asia in which continent alone it counts its adherents by the million.

From what has been said above it should already be clear that in the present, no less than in the past, Buddhism implies peace. But this peace is not a condition of unstable political equilibrium but rather a state of mind purified from all feelings of antagonism and thoroughly permeated by that impersonal and universal love which the Buddhists call maitri. Buddhism works from within outwards. Its hierarchy enjoys no international diplomatic status, and chooses to act not by means of behind-the-scenes political wire-pulling but by the open practice and propagation of the pacific teachings of the Buddha. On the political plane, Buddhism does not take sides. Love, in the sense of maitrī, is the most powerful force in the world; but it is a neutral force. Whether one's love be directed towards concrete persons and things, or whether it be directed towards abstract conceptions and ideals, if it causes one to feel hatred towards some other object, of a different kind, it is of a limited extent, and therefore not true love but only a species of attachment. Similarly, if peace, which is a form of love, is not universal it is not peace at all. The conclusion of a private peace between two or more nations, to the exclusion of the remainder, is in reality impossible. Should such a 'peace' in any way threaten the security of any other state even its observance would be on no higher a moral plane than the honesty that is popularly supposed to exist among thieves. India having accepted Aśoka's great ideal of *dharmavijaya* or Conquest by Righteousness, it was inevitable that this very Buddhist maitrī, or love and goodwill towards all, should form the ultimate spiritual basis of her policy of dynamic neutrality in world affairs. It is the *raison d'être* of the fact that, while working unremittingly for world peace, the Government of India consistently refuses to align itself with any power bloc. Such an attitude has naturally drawn

her closer to the Buddhist countries of South-East Asia, whose respective policies are naturally inspired by one and the same ideal. But by its very nature, such a relationship does not and cannot imply hostility or even indifference towards any other country or group of countries. In fact, it is not one political group among other groups, with its own exclusive preferences and limited loyalties, but rather a slowly expanding centre radiating to the world the impersonal, universal and neutral power of maitrī. It is in this light that one must view the Government of India's attempts to renew her ancient ties with the countries of Asia. It is because Buddhism alone can provide the necessary basis for these attempts that its political implications for Asia, and through Asia for the whole world, are so enormous and so important.

The Future

Prophesying is a proverbially hazardous game; but it may be confidently asserted that if we had the power of dipping into the future "as far as human eye can see", we should behold there Buddhism softly pacing through the centuries hand in hand with culture and peace. So far as the immediate future is concerned, there is little doubt that the tempo of Buddhist resurgence and revival throughout Asia, as well as that of its propagation all over the non-Buddhist world, will be accelerated with the passing of every remaining decade of the present century. The cultural manifestations of Buddhism will bloom more and more profusely while the grey-green olive of peace, lovingly tended by the ever-stronger-growing hands of the Dharma, will put forth their black, shining fruits for the healing of the nations in ever greater abundance. If the cultural and political implications of Buddhism in the modern world succeed in working themselves out along the present lines of their development, our two leaves and a bud will soon grow into a whole forest of flowers.

B. Revival of Buddhism: The Maha Bodhi Society

A third of the modern world is Buddhist! This is no small achievement for Buddhism. The reading of history creates an impression in the mind that if this great religion had not had to struggle against unfavourable political conditions, the conquest of the world by Buddhism would have been complete. However, the Buddhist world today is by no means small. Tibet, China with Manchuria and Mongolia, Korea, Japan, Indo-China, Siam (Thailand), Burma and Ceylon are Buddhist. Although Malaya and Indonesia cannot be claimed as Buddhist lands, the Buddhist population in these countries is not negligible. Excluding the Muslim lands in the Middle East and Russia, the whole of Asia is thus practically Buddhist.

Although Buddhism originated in India, today it is not much in evidence in that sub-continent. This does not, however, mean that there is no Buddhism in India at all. In the eastern parts of the country, in East Bengal and in parts of Assam, Buddhism still exists and is practised. It also exists, although this is not generally known, in parts of Rajputana, in the hill district of Nainital and in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. The number of Buddhists in Orissa is considerable, and Sikkim and Bhutan in the Himalayan region are completely Buddhist. Further, half the population of Nepal is Buddhist. Although Nepal has a separate political existence, culturally it belongs to the orbit of Indian thought.

The Buddhist population of Rajputana, Nainital, Ajmer and Orissa is, after a long period, gradually becoming aware of its religious identity and Buddhism in these places is coming into its own.

About the year 1885, Sir Edwin Arnold, author of the famous *The Light of Asia,* wrote a number. of articles in *The Telegraph,* a London periodical of which he was the editor, and drew attention to the neglected state of the temple at Bodh Gaya and its surroundings. These articles caught

the eye of the Venerable Dharmapala, who was deeply moved by them. Dharmapala came of an aristocratic family of Ceylon, but he abandoned all the good things of the world that were his, and became 'anāgārika' (homeless). He dedicated his life to the restoration of the Maha Bodhi temple as well as to the revival of the Noble Dhamma in the land of its birth.

In pursuance of his resolve, Dharmapala, who was then in the prime of life, set forth for India and paid his first visit to Bodh Gaya in January 1891. His heart broke at what he saw of the temple and the condition of the images in it. He returned to Ceylon in May 1891 and founded the Maha Bodhi Society in Colombo. The maintenance of a staff of bhikkhus at Bodh Gaya representing the Buddhist countries of Asia, and the publication of Buddhist literature in English and Indian languages were two of the objects of this newly-founded society.

The Maha Bodhi Society sent its first mission to Bodh Gaya on June 10th, 1891. The mission consisted of four monks who, on their arrival, found shelter in the Burmese Rest House—so called, because it was built by the Burmese King, Mindon Min. Bodh Gaya was then within the province of Bengal whose people greeted the appearance of the bhikkhus with enthusiasm. A leading daily of Bengal in those days wrote on the occasion: "Why should not this unlooked for return of Buddhism in the form of a Buddhist colony at Bodh Gaya bring back with it the hope that the Hindus will recover their place among the great nations of the world?"[1]

The holding at Bodh Gaya of an International Buddhist Conference was the second achievement of the Society. Although the conference was organized on a small scale, China, Japan, Ceylon and the Chittagong Hill Tracts were also represented. The object of this Conference, which was held in October 1891, was to draw the attention of the Buddhist world to the state of affairs at Bodh Gaya, as it was

1. *Indian Mirror*, November 3, 1891.

realized that the movement for the restoration of the temple started by the Maha Bodhi Society could not succeed without the support and co-operation of Buddhists throughout the world.

The next activity of the Society was to launch, in May 1892, its organ, *The Maha Bodhi and the United Buddhist World,* which was to be used as an instrument for the propagation of the Dharma not only in India but in all the countries of the world where English was understood. The journal, which was published from Calcutta, was edited by the Venerable Dharmapala. It was actively supported by and enjoyed the sympathy of a considerable section of the Indian intelligentsia.

All this time the Venerable Dharmapala saw nothing but encouragement and he continued his work towards the fulfilment of his mission with unabated energy. But he came up against two unexpected hurdles. The Mahant of Bodh Gaya, who was in possession of the temple, saw danger and wanted the Buddhist monks to leave. The incidents that followed are too well known to need recounting. The powers that be, too, came to the aid of the Mahant in spite of the voices of disapproval from men like Sir Edwin Arnold and Col. H. S. Olcott. However, nothing daunted the Maha Bodhi Society and they continued their work with redoubled energy.

The Venerable Dharmapala undertook a second voyage to America at the invitation of Dr. Paul Carus, the author of the famous *Gospel of Buddha.* On this occasion he stayed in America for a year in the course of which he delivered many lectures on Buddhism and the work of the Maha Bodhi Society, and founded the American Maha Bodhi Society. Convinced by his speeches, several Americans were converted to Buddhism.

The humanitarian aspect of the work of the Maha Bodhi Society was evidenced in 1897 when severe famine broke out in Bengal. The Society immediately opened a relief fund and sent an appeal to all the Buddhist countries

of Asia for help. The response was prompt and a substantial sum was collected for the purpose of feeding and clothing more than a thousand men, women and children for about six months.

The year 1900 must be regarded as an eventful one for the Maha Bodhi Society, for in that year three branches of the Society were opened at Madras, Kuśinagara and Anuradhapura (in Ceylon). In 1902 the Venerable Dharmapala visited America once more and was able to secure substantial financial aid for the Maha Bodhi Society, chiefly from Mrs. Mary E. Foster of Honolulu. He also succeeded in gathering round him a number of distinguished people who were desirous of working for the cause of Buddhism.

The Maha Bodhi Society became a registered body in 1915 with Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee as its first president. Within the next five years, the Dharmarājika Caitya Vihāra of the Society was built in Calcutta. In recognition of the distinguished position it had won, the Society was presented in 1920 with a casket containing the relics of the bones of the Buddha, which were to be enshrined in the .Vihāra. These relics were discovered at Bhattiprolu in the Krishna district of Madras by archaeological explorers in 1891 and kept, till such time as they were presented to the Maha Bodhi Society, in the Madras Museum. The Dharmarājika Caitya Vihāra was formally opened on November 20, 1920, by the Governor of Bengal, Lord Ronaldshay. On the morning of that day, the President of the Society, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, received at Government House from Lord Ronaldshay (now Marquis of Zetland) the sacred relics which were brought to the new shrine in a picturesque procession.

A new chapter opened with the dawn of freedom in India. The interminable litigation with the Mahant in which the Maha Bodhi Society was involved had produced no result. Now, the Government of Bihar came forward with legislation for the management of the temple and had the Buddha Gaya Temple Act, 1949, passed. Under this Act, a Com-

mittee called the Buddha Gaya Temple Management Committee, consisting of four Buddhists and four Hindus, has been constituted. The Committee is entrusted with the management and control of the temple. Thus, after sixty years of hard struggle, the Maha Bodhi Society has partly succeeded in one of its main objectives—the restoration of the temple to the Buddhists.

Bodh Gaya again began to attract the attention of the whole world, and groups of pilgrims came to visit it all the year round. As if by charm, Bodh Gaya, erstwhile an insignificant village, was transformed overnight. It now hums with life and bids fair to be the centre of the Buddhist world once more.

Meanwhile, however, the Mūlagandhakuṭi Vihāra had been built at Sarnath. When the Venerable Dharmapala came to India, Sarnath, which is famous in the history of Buddhism, had been reduced to a tiny village surrounded by jungle which was the grazing ground of wild pigs. The Venerable Dharmapala took upon himself the task of restoring it, and towards this end conceived the idea of erecting a vihāra. A suitable site was selected for the purpose and the building was finally completed in 1931. With the subsequent establishment of the Maha Bodhi Vidyalaya, the Vihāra Library, the Maha Bodhi Free Dispensary, the Maha Bodhi Primary School and the Teachers' Training College, Sarnath is once again pulsating with life.

The impact of the expanding activities of the Maha Bodhi Society was soon felt throughout India, and the formation of the Buddha Society of Bombay in 1922 was a result of this influence. This society owned a library and a hall in which fortnightly discourses on Buddhism were held. In 1953 this vihāra was handed over to the Maha Bodhi Society for proper management. With the financial help of Seth Birla, the late Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi had a small vihara built at Parel. This was called Bahujana Vihāra, and was intended to satisfy the spiritual needs of the workers and labourers who live in the surrounding areas.

This vihāra has also passed into the hands of the Maha Bodhi Society for management.

The Society at present has branches at Gaya, Sarnath, New Delhi, Lucknow, Bombay, Madras, Nautanwa and Ajmer. There is a Buddha Society at Nagpur which functions independently. Many parts of the country are anxious to have branches of the Maha Bodhi Society, but the lack of funds at the disposal of the Society stands in the way of the fulfilment of this desire.

With the home-coming in 1949 of the relics of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, the two chief disciples of the Buddha, the interest of the people of India in Buddhism and their innate love of the Buddha was revealed in a surprising manner. The vast sub-continent welcomed the relics as if the dearest sons of the country had come back after long years of absence. Finally, these relics were taken to Sanchi, the place of their discovery, and re-enshrined in the newly built vihara at a fitting ceremony which was attended by thousands of men and women from all over the world, headed by the Prime Ministers of India and Burma. The scene was unforgettable and the occasion historic.

The celebration of the Maha Bodhi Society's Golden Jubilee at Sanchi synchronized with the enshrinement of the relics, as did the International Buddhist Conference which was held there.

It is noteworthy that while ten years ago the festival of Buddha Paurṇimā was celebrated only in one or two Buddhist temples maintained by the Maha Bodhi Society, now it is observed all over the country, including places which are strongholds of orthodoxy. This is indicative of the successful work done by the Maha Bodhi Society over a period of sixty years. The seed sown by the Venerable Dharmapala, and nurtured by the self-sacrificing workers of the Maha Bodhi Society, has sprouted and all the signs are that it will have a glorious growth.

Now that India has come into her own, numerous and frequent cultural missions come to visit this country from

Buddhist countries in East Asia, thereby re-establishing the close link that once existed between India and those countries. The political effect of this is far-reaching.

The Maha Bodhi Society has taken up in right earnest the task of publishing translations of the Buddhist scriptures into Indian languages which has brought the teachings of the Buddha within the reach of everybody. This work is making progress and the result is highly encouraging.

The publication of translations of the Tripiṭaka has created in the public mind a genuine interest in Buddhism. The regular weekly lectures on Buddhism delivered at the Maha Bodhi Hall are always well attended.

Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, as far back as the year 1908, introduced the study of Pali at Calcutta University from the Matriculation stage right up to the M.A. degree examination. This has led to the revival of a language which for ages had lain forgotten in the land of its birth. The post graduate department of Pali at Calcutta University has done and is doing pioneer research work, thereby bringing to light the treasures of Pali literature. The example of Calcutta University has been followed by other universities of the country, particularly those at Patna, Banaras, Lucknow, Nagpur, Bombay, Poona and Baroda. The latest to come into the field is the Nalanda Pali Institute of Rajgir (Rājagṛha).

Although the Maha Bodhi Society's work is mainly confined to India, its influence is felt over a much wider area, and extends to the eastern and south-eastern parts of Asia, and to Europe, America, Australia and Africa, where thousands of people are becoming interested in this great religion. Buddhist vihāras now exist in England, Germany, Australia and the United States of America.

The message of Buddhism and the principle on which it rests have assumed new significance in the world of today, and the peace of which U.N.O. speaks is but an indication that the whole world is gradually veering round to the beliefs embodied in the religion of the Buddha.

CHAPTER XVI

In Retrospect

The story of Buddhism in India and abroad has been outlined in the foregoing chapters in order to show the link that has bound India and the other countries of the East for numberless centuries.

The importance of Buddhism as a religion lies primarily in its concept of kindness, humanity and equality. Buddhism was no adventitious phenomenon. It arose out of the background of Vedic sacrifices and the philosophical speculations current before and up to the Buddha's own times. The story of his life and teachings according to the older Pali texts places more reliance on his humanity than on his divinity.

His teachings can be described briefly as:

(1) the abstention from evil;
(2) the accumulation of whatever is good and noble; and
(3) the purification of the mind.

His belief in Karma is of special sociological significance inasmuch as it attributed greater importance to personal action (karma) than to lineage (jāti).

The account given of the Buddhist Councils of Rājagṛha, Vaisali and Pāṭaliputra follows the orthodox tradition. A French scholar, André Bareau, has, however, made out a case for *two* Councils at Pāṭaliputra, the first of which brought about a schism in the community of the Buddhist monks. At this first Council, the Mahāsaṅghikas separated from the Sthaviravādins and at the second the Sarvāstivādins broke away from the main body of the Sthaviravādins. They now

took the name of the Vibhajyavādins and were patronized by the great Emperor Aśoka.

In the reign of Aśoka the Great, Buddhism, although divided into as many as eighteen different sects and schools, became, under royal patronage, not only an all India religion, but a world religion.

A chapter has also been devoted to the expansion of Buddhism to the northern countries, such as Afghanistan, Chinese Turkestan (Central Asia), China, Tibet, Mongolia, Nepal, Korea and Japan, as well as to the southern countries of Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Viet-Nam (Campā), Malaya and Indonesia.

The principal sects and schools of Buddhism in India and abroad have also been described and the gradual evolution of the simple teachings of the Theravāda school into the complexities of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools in India and their further development in China and Japan have been clearly traced.

A general idea of the Tripiṭaka literature in Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese has been given and important books in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit have been surveyed in detail.

Another interesting topic bears upon the Buddhist system of education. It has been shown that it transcended the narrow limits of the family school of Brahmanical times and expanded into the larger monastic school which threw its doors open to all—Buddhists and non-Buddhists, Indians and foreigners.

An attempt has also been made to tell the reader of some of the great Buddhists who followed Aśoka in India and abroad.

The great Chinese travellers, Fa-hien, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, have given us a picture of Buddhism in the India of their day. A separate chapter has been devoted to them in token of India's grateful recognition.

It is universally admitted that India owes to Buddhism the beginnings of her plastic arts. Buddhism became a source of inspiration for architecture, sculpture and painting not only

in India but wherever Buddhism went.

A remarkable change came over Buddhism in the course of time. From its earlier form of ethical religion, Buddhism changed into the Mahāyāna doctrine which deified the Buddha and devotion to the person of the Buddha became the dominant feature of the religion. A follower of the Buddha no longer cared for the deliverance of his own self, but preferred, out of compassion (karuṇā) for his comrades, to defer his own deliverance; he was even prepared to be born again and again if he could thereby help his fellowmen to achieve their deliverance. Thus the change from the selfish 'turning away from the world' (nivṛtti) to the beneficent activity of help and service to others (pravṛtti) was largely responsible for gaining public support. In philosophy also Buddhism turned from the pluralistic to the monistic conception of the universe. This brought Buddhism nearer to the doctrine of Advaitism advocated by the Vedāntins.

The doctrine of Māyā and the two types of truths samvrtti-satya (conventional truth) and paramārtha-satya (absolute truth) were also accepted by the Vedāntins.

Sacrifices involving the slaughter of animals came to be condemned and were replaced by offerings of corn and grain.

The Mahābhārata, the great Hindu epic, takes for granted the importance of personal conduct and refers to the Noble Eightfold Path.[1] The Buddhist gods came to be respected and the Buddha himself came to be recognized as an Avatāra, a reincarnation of Viṣṇu.[2]

The cultural and political implications of Buddhism in the modern world have been discussed at length. It has been shown that with the spread of the Buddha's religion to the Asian countries, Buddhist culture also was introduced to them. These countries profited from these new ideas not only in religion but also in culture which, in its widest sense, is "that coupled whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and

1. III, 2,7,73.
2. Bhāgavata, I, 3,24.

habits acquired by man as member of society".

Buddhism has been a great force for peace in the world The Buddha's policy of peace, self-sacrifice, kindness and charity finds an echo in the following lines from the Mahābhārata:

Akrodhena jayet krodham asādhum sādhunā jayet
jayet kadaryam dānena jayet satyena cānṛtaṃ[1]

(One should conquer anger by cool-headedness, evil by good, miserliness by charity and falsehood by truth.)

This spirit moulded the lives of numerous saints in mediaeval India and the great minds of modern India, too, have been guided by the Buddha's teachings. The influence that the life of the Master exercised on Mahatma Gandhi is self-evident. He turned the principle of satyagraha into action in his private and public life and some of the present Indian leaders are the direct heirs of their Master, the Father of the Indian Nation. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, has declared times without number his firm faith in the peaceful method of settling disputes at home and abroad. This accounts for the fact that India has refrained from joining any power bloc. The declared foreign policy of the Government of India is based on the five rules of conduct, the Pañca-śīla, itself a Buddhist term, which allows for the possibility of peaceful co-existence between peoples of different ideologies.

1. Udyoga-parva (B.O.R.I. Edition), 30,58.

GLOSSARY

Some common Pali names and terms and their Sanskrit equivalents

PALI	SANSKRIT
Abhidhamma	Abhidharma
Āḷāra Kālāma	Āḍāra Kālāma
Amata	Amṛta
Apadāna	Avadāna
Atthadassī	Arthadarśī
Bhikkhu	Bhikṣu
Bhikkhuṇī	Bhikṣuṇī
Cetiya	Caitya
Dhamma	Dharma
Dhammacakkapavattana	Dharmacakrapravartana
Dhātugabbha	Dhātugarbha
Gayāsīsa	Gayāśīrṣa
Jīvaka Komārabhacca	Jīvaka Kumārabhṛtya
Kaccāyana	Kātyāyana
Kassapa	Kāśyapa
Kusinārā	Kuśinagara
Mahākassapa	Mahākāśyapa
Makkhali Gosāla	Maṣkarin Gośāla
Mahinda	Mahendra
Mahāparinibbāna	Mahāparinirvāṇa
Moggallāna	Maudgalyāyana
Moggaliputta	Maudgaliputra
Mettā	Maitrī
Nibbāṇa	Nirvāṇa
Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta	Nirgrantha Jñātṛputra
Nanda Vaccha	Nanda Vacya
Pakarana	Prakaraṇa
Pakudha Kaccāyana	Kakuda Kātyāyana

PALI	SANSKRIT
Pātimokkha-sutta	Prātimokṣa-sūtra
Parinibbāṇa	Parinirvāṇa
Pāṭaliputta	Pāṭaliputra
Piyadassī	Priyadarśī
Rājagaha	Rājagṛha
Saddhamma	Saddharma
Saṅghamittā	Saṅghamitrā
Sāriputta	Śāriputra
Subhadda	Subhadra
Sāvatthi	Śrāvasti
Sutta	Sūtra
Thera	Sthavira
Tipiṭaka	Tripiṭaka
Tissa Moggaliputta	Tiṣya Maudgaliputra
Thūpa	Stūpa
Upekkhā	Upekṣā
Vesākha	Vaiśākha
Vesālī	Vaiśālī
Vibhajjavāda	Vibhajyavāda
Visākhā	Viśākhā

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INDEX*

*As will be observed, this index is confined to the better known names and terms associated with Buddhism, and is not exhaustive.